

HIGHWAYS OF HISTORY

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND



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HIGHWAYS OF HISTORY

THE KINGDOMS OF
NORTHUMBRIA AND ALBAN
ABOUT THE END OF THE
NINTH CENTURY.



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HIGHWAYS OF HISTORY

THE CONNECTION

BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

BY

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WITH MAP

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CHAPTER I.

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOMS OF NORTHUMBRIA AND ALBAN.

AT the time of the conversion of England (597), the date at which the authentic history of England begins, we find four nations occupying this island—the Picts, Scots, Britons, and English, each speaking their own language. The very names of England and Scotland were then unknown; nor were all the elements from which the two great kingdoms were to be formed as yet present on the soil. But then, as now, two nationalities—the Keltic and the Teutonic—divided the land between them, though in a distribution widely different from that of to-day. The Picts, Scots, and Britons were Kelts; the English were Teutons.

The Picts.—The Picts were the descendants of those wild tribes of the North whom the Romans called the Caledonians. They probably belonged to the Gaelic branch of the Keltic family. In the time of Agricola they possessed not only all Scotland north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth, but a great part of the north of Ireland. Their national name was Cruith-nigh; but they received the name of Picts from the Romans because they tattooed their bodies. They had

not risen beyond the pastoral stage of civilization in the days of Severus, and their social development was very low, since they practised community of wives. A trace of this primæval custom survived in later times in the Pictish law of succession to the throne through the mother only. At the close of the sixth century their kingdom stretched over the whole of Scotland north of the Firth of Forth, except the small portion which was held by the Scots.

The Scots.—The Scots were also a Gaelic people; they had joined with the Picts in those fierce attacks on southern Britain which had done so much to weaken the Roman power in the island. They had become Christianized before they came over from Ireland in 498, and planted a colony in what is now Argyleshire, under their king Fergus. Their kingdom was a small one, as on the mainland it did not fill up the limits of the present shire of Argyle. It was separated on the east from the kingdom of the Picts by that central mountain range known to old writers as the *Dorsum Britanniaë*, or Backbone of Britain. The earlier home of the Scots in Ireland had been called Dalriada, and their colony in Britain was for some time considered a part of the Irish kingdom of Dalriada, until, in the year 575, through the influence of St. Columba, Aidan, king of Scotch Dalriada, was exalted into an independent sovereign.

The Britons.—The Britons belonged to the Cymric branch of the Keltic family. At the time of the conversion of England they still possessed, speaking broadly, the whole West of England, from the Land's End to the Clyde, and still cherished some broken fragments of Roman civilization. This British region

was not all ruled by one king. The kingdom of Alclwyd, a fortified rock on the Clyde, which received from the Gael the name of *Dumbarton* (the fort of the Britons), stretched from the Clyde to the Mersey in the sixth century. The Catrail, an ancient dyke which still runs from the south-east corner of Peeblesshire, through the shires of Selkirk and Roxburgh, was probably the frontier between the northern part of this kingdom and the English of Bernicia.

The English.—We come now to the fourth nationality in Britain, the one which was destined to be supreme. The English—who belonged to the three tribes of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes—possessed at this time about two-thirds of the part of our island lying south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The district between the Forth and Humber, known for 400 years after as Northumbria, we find possessed by the Angles at the close of the sixth century. A long struggle had probably been going on between the natives and the invaders before the year 547, when Ida, the first of the royal line of the Northumbrians, rose to the rank of king, and fortified his royal seat at Bamborough. Modern Scotchmen are not in the habit of looking back to Ida as the founder of their national greatness, but such he certainly was, as the later history of Lothian will show. Ida's kingdom does not appear to have been larger than the province of Bernicia, the country lying between the river Esk, in Edinburghshire, and the Tees, bounded on the west by the Catrail; and it may be doubted whether it reached even those limits in Ida's lifetime, as the fierce resistance offered by the natives made the Anglian advance slow and gradual.

While Ida was conquering Bernicia another Anglian tribe under Ella was engaged in the conquest of Deira, the southern province of Northumbria, stretching from the Humber to the Tees; and we are told that in 559 Ella succeeded Ida in the kingship of the Northumbrians, though we still find the sons of Ida ruling in Bernicia, and carrying on the struggle with the Britons. The early history of Northumbria is very obscure; but its division into these two provinces of Bernicia and Deira should be noted at the outset, as it is a fact of great importance in later history. Though Northumbria is generally spoken of as one kingdom, the tendency to split into two provinces frequently reappears. The kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia were certainly united under Ethelfrith, the grandson of Ida, who married the daughter of Ella, and expelled his son from the country.

Ethelfrith of Northumbria, 594.—The English historian, Beda, mildest of men, breaks forth into something like a warwhoop when he celebrates the glory of Ethelfrith. It was by his sword that the long conflict between the northern Britons and the Angles was finally settled. Beda states very expressly the nature of the English conquest generally—"No king ever made more lands habitable for the English by exterminating the inhabitants, or tributary to them by conquest." Which districts he thus colonized it is impossible to decide; we can only trace the blows by which he secured the English supremacy in the North. The Scottish colony of Argyle had existed as long as the English settlement in Northumbria. The Scots were Christians, having brought Christianity with them from Ireland. Concerned at the success of the

heathen king, Aidan, king of Scots, resolved to measure swords with him. He was completely defeated by Ethelfrith at Dawstone in Liddisdale, and Beda says that from that day to his own time no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war on the English. Equally important was the blow which Ethelfrith struck on the Britons. He may have been stimulated to his attack by the fact that the children of Ella, king of Deira, had taken refuge with a Welsh king. The bloody defeat which Ethelfrith gave the Welsh at Chester marked the first advance of the Anglian power beyond that long reach of mountainous country extending from Derbyshire to Scotland (607).

The immediate successor of Ethelfrith, Edwin, one of the greatest of the Northumbrian kings, conquered the Welsh kingdom of Elmet, on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The old name of Edinburgh, Edwinesburh, seems to show that he advanced the English border from the Esk to the Avon at least. We are assured by Beda that Edwin was overlord of all the British as well as of all the English kings in the island except Kent.

The Scoto-Irish Church.—But for the Keltic race was reserved the noble revenge of making a spiritual conquest of their conquerors. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Scoto-Irish were the chief missionaries of nearly all Europe north of the Alps. The mission of Columba from Ireland to Scotland in 563 not only confirmed the little colony in the faith it had brought with it, but by the foundation of the monastic Church of Iona established a centre for Christian missions, whose importance was as great politically as religiously. The first fruit of Columba's labours was the conversion

of Brude, king of the Picts, and the establishment of churches in all parts of his dominions. The two nations of the Picts and Scots, kindred in blood, were now entirely united in sympathy, and for 150 years scarcely a single conflict is known to have taken place between them. The political influence of Columba was so great that he was able to obtain from the supreme king of Ireland exemption of tribute for the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada. It was by peaceful means that the Church of Columba was to subjugate Northumbria.

When Ethelfrith of Northumbria perished in the battle of the Idle, where he was overthrown by Edwin, the son of Ella (617), his children sought refuge among the Scots and Picts. There they learned the Gaelic tongue and the Christian faith. The eldest, Eanfrith, married a daughter of the Pictish king. When the reign of Edwin ended in the disastrous battle of Hatfield (633) the Christianity which Northumbria had received from the Roman Church of Kent was thrown off; but when after two calamitous years Oswald, son of Ethelfrith, again united the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira under his sway he began the re-christianizing of Northumbria with the help of missionaries from the home of his exile (635). The father of the North-English Church was Aidan the Scot, whose bishop's seat was established in the isle of Lindisfarne. Oswald himself, one of the few English kings who ever spoke Gaelic, interpreted the words of the Gaelic missionaries to his own people.

The Scoto-Irish Church gave England the best she had to give—her piety and her learning; but one thing she could not give—contact with Rome, the old and

ever new fountain-head of civilization. From the time of the introduction of Roman Christianity into Kent, the tide of Roman civilization had been steadily flowing into the southern kingdoms of England; and there were men in the Northumbrian Church who discerned the advantages which Northumbria would gain if she were brought again into connexion with the Church of Rome. Though they saw the Gaelic Church in her palmiest days, when the flame of her missionary energy was at its full height, yet it was with true insight that they judged that she was not strong enough to run the race set before her. No isolated Church was strong enough for the task of subduing the barbaric world. Without such an organization as that of Rome, Christianity could probably not have won even the imperfect triumph over barbarism which she eventually achieved. The Irish Church only lost strength by her struggle to maintain her independence; her hour of lofty asceticism was followed by a reaction, in which she fell more and more under the secularizing influences of the clan, and her abbacies became the hereditary possessions of chieftains' families.

Advance of the Northumbrian Kingdom.—We need not repeat the oft-told tale of the Synod of Whitby (664) and the victory of the Romanizing party. What concerns us here is the political influence of that event on the infant kingdoms of Northumbria and Dalriada. The Northumbrian king Oswy, who had been convinced at the Synod of Whitby that St. Peter held the keys of the kingdom of heaven, was one of the most powerful kings that Northumbria had ever known. The grants of lands on the Ribble which he made to Bishop Wilfrid mark the advance of the

Anglian power over what is now Lancashire. The kingdom of the Scots had lately been involved in a struggle with the kingdom of Alclwyd, in which the former had come off the worse, the last king of the Scots having been slain by the Britons at the battle of Strathcarron (642); and for the rest of the century Dalriada appears to have been subject to Alclwyd. It is not improbable that the king of the Alclwyd Britons was among the British allies of Penda, king of Mercia, to whom Oswy gave such a crushing defeat at Winwædfield (655). Previous to this Oswy's position, even in his own kingdom of Bernicia, was precarious; after it we find him occupying a supreme position in Britain. This victory over the Britons, followed by the subjection of their country, brought with it the subjection of the Scottish kingdom, which had been in their hands since 642. The connexion between the Anglian and the Pictish kingdoms was even closer. Through the operation of the Pictish law of succession through the mother, a certain Talorgan became king of the Picts, who was the son of the English etheling Eanfrith, brother of king Oswy. It has been conjectured that on the death of this Talorgan, Oswy seized the kingdom in virtue of his relationship. At any rate, the supremacy of the Anglian kingdom over the Britons, Scots, and Picts lasted for thirty years.

Egfrith, the son of Oswy, continued to encroach on the kingdom of the Britons; and his gift to St. Cuthbert of the district of Carlisle, and Cartmel "with its Britons," shows that the whole country lying to the south of the Solway was now in his hands. From this time English Cumberland was permanently severed from the British kingdom of Alclwyd, and that kingdom

receded before the Anglian advance till it retained little more than the valley of the Clyde, and henceforth is known in history as the kingdom of Strathclyde.

Pictish Reaction, 685.—But for one small kingdom to hold down a number of others, economical resources were needed such as were not possessed by any of the states of the so-called Heptarchy; hence a single battle was often enough to end for a time the English supremacy over the Kelts. The turn of the Picts came in 685, when a second attempt which they made to throw off the sovereignty of Egfrith was completely successful, Egfrith being defeated and slain at Dunnichen, in Forfar. In consequence of this fatal battle, not only did the Picts recover their independence, but Beda tells us that the Scots and “some part of the Britons” (probably the Britons of Strathclyde) regained their liberty. The Angles, however, did not lose their authority over Galloway, still less over English Cumberland, which continued under the rule of Northumbria till it was conquered by the Northmen.

Ecclesiastical Struggle in Pictland, 717.—It is not impossible that the dissension between the Roman and the Columban Church may have had something to do with the insurrection of the Picts against the English, since one of its first consequences was the expulsion of the English bishop, Trumwine, from Abercorn, the seat of the bishopric which he had held over the Picts. The Picts owed their conversion and their civilization to the Church of Columba; and the subsequent revolutions of Pictland show that they were deeply attached to that church. In the year 710 the Picts were ruled by a king named Nechtan, who was enlightened enough to see, as Oswy had

seen, that the Roman Church held the keys of civilization, if not of the kingdom of heaven. He accordingly made overtures to the Church of Northumbria, praying not only for instruction on those points in which the Columban custom differed from the Roman, but for architects to build churches in his kingdom after the Roman fashion. The Northumbrian Church responded warmly to his overtures; and Nechtan, full of enthusiasm and replenished with arguments, tried to enforce upon the Church of Pictland the Roman Easter and the coronal tonsure. Unable to compel the Columban clergy to submission, he did not shrink from the bold step of expelling them from his kingdom, driving them across the mountain range of Drumalban into Dalriada.

This event broke the long peace which had existed for nearly 150 years between Dalriada and Pictland. Both kingdoms now fell into a series of revolutions, in which traces of an ecclesiastical struggle may be observed, and which ended in establishing a powerful king, Angus Mac Fergus, on the Pictish throne. By his alliance with the Angles, whom he helped in subjugating the kingdom of Strathclyde (756), and by his foundation of the Roman Church of St. Andrews, it is evident that he belonged to the Roman party. The worship of St. Andrew was undoubtedly introduced from Northumbria, and from this time St. Andrew was adopted as the patron saint of the Pictish kingdom. Angus completely subdued the kingdom of Dalriada, which now became a Pictish province.

Kenneth Mac Alpin unites Pictland and Dalriada, 884.—But the supremacy of Pictland over Dalriada was put an end to by the invasions of the Danes and

Norwegians. In the confusion caused by their attacks, the kingdom of the Scots recovered its independence; and at a time when the Picts were crushed by a bloody defeat at the hands of the Danes, Kenneth Mac Alpin, king of the Scots, turned his arms against the Picts, and made himself ruler of the Pictish nation, which, according to the words of the Pictish chronicler, he governed happily for sixteen years.

This revolution, which was the foundation of the dynasty of kings known in later times as kings of Scotland, is one of the most obscure in history. We know that the kingdom of the Scots had always been a small one—about a fourth the size of the kingdom of the Picts; we know that it had never been a powerful or an advancing kingdom; that it had been subject for some eighty years to the Britons, and had been completely subdued by the Picts not long before Kenneth's accession; yet we suddenly find the king of the Scots make himself master of the Pictish throne, and not long after his accession the very name of the Picts disappears from history. We are driven to the conclusion that though a temporary weakness of the Picts gave opportunity to the arms of Kenneth, the revolution was more a change of dynasty than anything else. Though Kenneth's descent is very obscure, the name of his father Alpin is undoubtedly Pictish, and may have been given him by a Pictish mother. We must further bear in mind that the histories which make the kings of Scotland the direct heirs of Fergus MacErc were manufactured in the twelfth century for a special purpose—to prove that the kingdom of Scotland was as old as that of England. And we are justified in assuming that if a

chieftain of partly Scottish descent seated himself on the Pictish throne, some powerful party in Pictland must have supported him ; and this party was probably that of the Columban Church, which was so beloved by the Picts. We find Kenneth transferring the relics of Columba to the church of Dunkeld, a measure which shows that he belonged to the Columban party, and intended to maintain the supremacy of the Columban Church by transferring it to a situation less exposed to the attacks of the Northmen than the isle of Iona. He appears to have maintained a hostile attitude towards the English, and to have avenged the usurpations of the Roman party by burning the Northumbrian churches of Dunbar and Melrose, which had originally been Columban foundations.

The kingdom of Kenneth and his successors continued to be called Pictland for more than fifty years ; then the native chroniclers begin to call it Alban. Our own chroniclers, however, always call it the kingdom of the Scots, and we shall sometimes follow their custom.

CHAPTER II.

THE ACQUISITION OF LOTHIAN BY SCOTLAND.

The Northmen in England and Alban.—We find the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots suffering from the inroads of the Danes in the same way as its southern neighbours. England was most harassed by the Danes, Alban by the Norwegians. The last of the native kings of Northumbria fell in battle against the Danes at York in 867; the Danes made a complete conquest of Northumbria, and set up a Danish king in Yorkshire. At the close of the same century the Norwegians conquered the Orkney Islands, and having established themselves there, made Orkney their basis of operations for the conquest of Northern Scotland. How far the kingdom of Kenneth I. extended we have no means of knowing, but at the utmost it could not have reached beyond the Spey; and the conquest and colonization of Caithness and Sutherland by the Norwegians boded as much danger to the rising kingdom of Alban as the conquests and settlements of the Danes in England did to the rising kingdom of Wessex.

There can be no doubt that by these settlements in North and South Britain a considerable amount of Scandinavian blood was infused into the population of

this island. But the supremely important result of these heathen invasions was, that both in North Britain and in South Britain, a single Christian kingdom rallied round itself all the forces which religion or national sympathy could gather to its aid, and having first secured its own independence, gradually drew into the circle of its allegiance the surrounding kingdoms. The consolidation of England—begun by Alfred, completed by his children and grand-children—was the great work of the tenth century here. A similar process took place in the same century in the North. Under the pressure of the invading Northmen, the three Keltic kingdoms gradually coalesced into one, which was sufficiently elastic to survive the onslaught of the heathen intruders, and was afterwards strong enough to wrest from the English one of their fairest provinces. But while we can trace with tolerable distinctness the successive steps by which the kings of Wessex brought under their own sway the various kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy, a perplexing twilight obscures the path by which the kingdom of Alban advanced to greatness. And especially is the most important event in all Scottish history, the annexation of Lothian, wrapped in thick darkness. We are obliged to supplement by conjecture the scanty information which the chroniclers have handed down to us.

The Lords of Bamborough.—The reader must bear in mind that the ancient kingdom of Northumbria stretched from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, and that the two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, into which it was divided, though they had frequently been united under one king, had never quite lost their ten-

dency to separate. The kingdom of the Scots and Picts was still confined by the Forth. Just as the kingdom of Wessex had turned the conquests of the Danes to its own profit by wresting from them the ancient kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia, so did the kingdom of Alban show a disposition to enlarge its borders by absorbing as much of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria as it could wrest from the Danes. The actual settlement of the Danes appears to have been confined to Deira or Yorkshire; the northern part of Northumbria they governed through a succession of under-kings from 867 to 878. The endings *caster* and *by*, which mark the settlements of the Northmen, and which are found so thickly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, are scarcely to be found in Bernicia, and show that the Danish colonization ended on the southern shore of the Tees. After the death of the last under-king of Bernicia, we find the most important man in that province was one Eadulf, Lord of Bamborough, who is spoken of as a friend of king Alfred's; he died in 912, and the next lord of Bamborough is his son Aldred, who has a brother, Uchtred. As these three names are all of frequent occurrence in the family of hereditary earls of Bernicia, whom we find there at the close of the century, we may assume that their owners belonged to the same family; and from the hold which this family possessed in Bernicia, at a time when hereditary earldoms were almost unknown in the rest of England, we might even guess (what an ancient tradition asserts) that they belonged to one of the many branches of the house of Ida.

If we knew the history of these earls of Bernicia better, we should probably find that it was owing to

their efforts that the Danes were prevented from making in Bernicia the complete conquest and settlement which they made in Deira. Under their government Bernicia seems to have maintained a precarious independence between the Danes and the Scots. Their position, however, must have been one of extreme difficulty, isolated as they were from their natural allies of English race by the Danish kingdom of Yorkshire. Eadulf appears to have made alliance with king Alfred. Aldred, the son of Eadulf, is spoken of as the friend of Alfred's son Edward. But the kings of Wessex were too distant to give Aldred material support, and the energies of Edward and his sister were absorbed in the arduous task of the reconquest of Mercia. When therefore Aldred was actually driven from Bernicia by an invading force of Danes, under Reginald, grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, he fled to Constantine, king of Scots, for help (923). This help was promptly given, but it is not likely that it was given for nothing. Aldred probably commended himself and his lands to Constantine, and hence may have arisen the mysterious claim made by the Scottish kings on Bernicia, a claim obstinately pursued for four centuries.

Constantine and Aldred were defeated at Corbridge by the Danes; but though Reginald divided the lands of St. Cuthbert (between Tees and Wear) among his followers, Aldred must have recovered his possessions afterwards, as we find him mentioned, evidently as a very important potentate, among those who chose Edward the Elder to father and lord in 924. This submission was doubtless little more than a nominal one, and when Athelstan actually conquered North-

umbria (926), it is recorded that all the kings in this island became subject to him, and among them is mentioned Aldred of Bamborough.

Wessex and Alban in contest.—Athelstan was one of the most doughty of the descendants of Alfred, and he was the first who could justly be called king of all England. It is very likely that it was his determination to extend the authority of Wessex over the whole of Northumbria which brought him into collision with Constantine II., king of Alban; and thus for the first time the kingdoms of Wessex and Alban, the two Christian kingdoms which had survived the shock of the Danish invasion, and had consolidated their power out of the wreckage of their neighbours, stood face to face as rivals. The remnant of the Strathclyde Britons, whose kingdom had been almost annihilated by the Danes, had elected Donald, brother of Constantine, for their king (908); and from this time Strathclyde became politically united with Alban, though retaining separate kings until 1018. With Strathclyde for an ally, Constantine, who had begun his reign vigorously by a brilliant defeat of the Northmen, was in a good position to press his claims on Bernicia; but he was defeated by Athelstan, who harried Scotland both by sea and land (933). Four years later Constantine made another and greater effort to recover his supremacy over the dominions of Aldred of Bamborough. He allied himself with the family of the Danish king, Reginald, whom Athelstan had expelled from Northumbria. He gave his daughter in marriage to Olaf, the grandson of Reginald, and in conjunction with his son-in-law and a large force of Danes from Dublin, and the king of the Strathclyde

Welsh, he invaded Northumbria with the evident intention of reinstating Olaf in Deira, and uniting Bernicia to the dominions of Alban. They advanced as far as Brunnanburgh, probably Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. Here they received from Athelstan a most crushing defeat, and no battle of the tenth century has left such resounding echoes in ballad and chronicle. The triumph-song of the victors has been preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (937).

Cession of Cumberland, 945.—The attempts of the kings of Alban on Northumbria were put an end to for a time by this battle; but the successors of Athelstan, Edmund and Edred, had each in turn to reconquer the province from Danish chieftains. Edmund thought it wiser to seek the alliance of the king of Alban in this conflict. He conquered Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm I., king of Alban, on condition "that he should be his fellow-worker by sea and by land." This would appear to have been the first time that English Cumberland submitted to the arms of Wessex, though it was certainly part of the province of the earls of Bernicia; but it had long been in the hands of Norwegian settlers, who have left their traces in the names of places. This arrangement cannot have lasted longer than Malcolm's lifetime, as English Cumberland does not appear to have been again in Scottish hands till the days of Malcolm III.

What part the Bernician earls took in the battle of Brunnanburgh we know not, but they were certainly the allies of Edred, king of Wessex, in overthrowing the last attempt of the Danes to establish an independent sovereignty in Yorkshire, since it was by a

plot of Earl Osulf, of Bamborough, that the last Danish king of Northumbria, Eric, son of Harold Bluetooth, king of Denmark, was slain (954). Osulf was rewarded by being made earl of the whole province of Northumbria. From this time Northumbria was an earldom or earldoms under the rule of the English king; but the kings of Alban did not give up their claim on Bernicia. They were naturally attracted by the more fertile lands lying to the south of the Forth, and they wished for their share in the salvage of the Old-English kingdoms. The same year in which Edred won the kingdom of Northumbria Indulph became king of Alban, a king of whom we know scarcely anything, except that in his time the city of Edinburgh was permanently occupied by the Scots.

The Cession of Lothian.—This advance of the Scoto-Pictish monarchy beyond the Forth is a very noteworthy fact. The kings of Wessex had manfully fought their way to the sovereignty over the whole English people, and aspired to an at least nominal empire over the whole island; but although this had been accomplished for a moment, it is plain that the task was too great for them. The sense of a common nationality was still weak, and the organization and resources of England were too undeveloped for her to attempt to hold her empire together by rousing a feeling of national unity. All she could do was, to accept the personal commendation of the lesser monarchs in the island, and to endeavour to keep their allegiance by making it profitable to them. Such a peaceful policy was worthy of Dunstan, the great minister who guided the sceptre of Edgar, and he

probably saw that the alliance of the king of Scots must be purchased even by great concessions. Edgar had divided the earldom of Osulf between Oslac, who received Yorkshire, and Eadulf Evilchild, apparently the son of Osulf, who was set over the country between the Tees and the Forth. It is evident that the advance made by Indulph was not acknowledged by the English government, and the fact that the kingdom of Alban was then rent by civil war may have inspired in Edgar the hope of maintaining the Forth as his northern frontier; but this design was relinquished. The Scottish civil war ended in 971, and Kenneth II., who obtained the crown of Alban, at once began a policy of vigorous attack on the Bernician province. In one of these raids he is related to have carried off a son of "the king of the Saxons," a title which is probably intended for the Earl of Bernicia. According to a chronicler of the twelfth century Earl Eadulf, Earl Oslac, and the Bishop of Durham now undertook the part of mediators between Kenneth and Edgar. They led Kenneth to Edgar's court, and Edgar made over to him the province of *Lothian* (a name then given to the country between the Forth and the Tweed), for which he did homage. A still later chronicler, but one who used ancient authorities which are now lost tells us that Edgar, after investigating the justice of the hereditary claim made to Lothian by Kenneth, was led to cede the province to him, chiefly because the means of access to it for defence were very difficult, and its possession not very profitable; and further that the king of Scots was obliged most solemnly to promise that he would not deprive the

people of that region of their ancient customs, and that they should still be allowed to use the name and language of the Angles. Under these well-trimmed phrases, if we consider the harryings on the part of Kenneth which the Pictish chronicler records, we can scarcely help discerning something very like a conquest of Lothian by Kenneth. It would be interesting to know whether Earl Eadulf now kept his dominions north of the Tweed, under homage to the king of Alban, or whether he ceded his more northern possessions as a ransom for his son. It is remarkable that in the reign of William the Conqueror we still find the earls of this family in the same ambiguous position, halting between allegiance to Scotland and allegiance to England.

Thus the eastern frontier of England and Scotland was fixed at the Tweed; but the ambition of the Scottish kings appears to have been still unsatisfied, and they continued to try to push their border southward whenever opportunity offered. Malcolm II., king of Scotland,* son of Kenneth II., harried Northumberland with an immense force in 1006, and laid siege to Durham. But Uchtred, son of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, was a youth of great energy and prowess, and inflicted on the Scottish forces such a crushing defeat that the king himself escaped with difficulty. It is very possible that after this victory Uchtred recovered the possessions of his ancestors in Lothian, and that they were lost again after Uchtred's death, as a result of the disastrous battle of Carham (1018), in which the Northumbrians were defeated

* The kingdom of Alban now begins to be called Scotia in the native chronicles.

with immense loss by the Scots under Malcolm, a battle which spread desolation from Tweed to Tees for many years after. We can only thus account for the cession of Lothian which is said to have been made by Eadulf Cudel, Earl of Northumberland, and brother of Uchtred, to the Scots. Eadulf, says Simeon of Durham, being a slothful and cowardly man, feared the vengeance of the Scots for the losses inflicted on them by his brother, and gave them the whole of Lothian in satisfaction. This was in the reign of Cnut, after the renewed invasions of the Danes had temporarily overwhelmed the English monarchy. Cnut became king of all England in 1017, but he had not an opportunity of settling matters with the Scottish king Malcolm until 1031. He then marched into Scotland, and received the submission of Malcolm. But he made no attempt to recover Lothian, and the English frontier remained fixed at the Tweed. He appointed an earl of Danish race to Northumbria, yet we still find the family of Uchtred holding the earldom of Bamborough until Earl Eadulf, son of Uchtred, was slain by Siward, who was then made Earl of all Northumbria from the Humber to the Tweed (1041). He married a granddaughter of Earl Uchtred.

Importance of this Cession.—Probably neither Edgar nor Cnut, nor the Scottish kings with whom they treated, had any idea of the vast importance of the cession of Lothian to the kingdom of Scotland. The statement made by Wallingford, that Kenneth pledged himself that the laws and language of Lothian should be unaltered, was probably only the chronicler's explanation of facts. The promise is not one likely to have been made at that time. But the laws and lan-

guage of Lothian were destined to be the laws and language of Scotland, and it was the English province which was to become the seat of government and the centre of influence for the whole of the Scottish kingdom. The kingdom of Ida, and not the kingdom of Fergus Mac Erc, was the true germ of the kingdom of Scotland. The king of Scotland of the twelfth century, though he rules from Dunfermline instead of Bamborough, is the successor of the kings of Bernicia and earls of Bamborough. We shall afterwards trace the operation of the great but silent revolution, by which the English element became supreme in Scotland.

The Supremacy of Wessex.—We have strung together the events connected with the cession of Lothian in order to place that cession before the reader with as much distinctness as possible in the midst of the obscurity which surrounds it. We must now go back to take up the thread of the relations between England and Scotland at an earlier point. The statements made by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that the nation of the Scots chose Edward the Elder to father and lord, and that from time to time various kings of Scotland became the “men” of the English kings, were the subject of bitter controversy in the thirteenth century, the echoes of which have not quite died out yet. It is unfortunate that national vanity should complicate a question whose interest should be purely scientific. The Scotland which existed in the time of Edward the Elder was not the Scotland of to-day, nor even the parent of the Scotland of to-day, but a wholly different thing; and as a matter of historical fact, there can be no question that the monarchy of Athelstan and Edgar was in every sense greater, more

powerful, and more civilized than the monarchy of Alban. The work of uniting the many kingdoms of England under the royal line of Wessex had been as hard a piece of work as ever kings put their hand to. It had been accomplished by a race of heroes through a long struggle, in which steadfastness of purpose at last won the day over all the forces which were rending the realm asunder. Alfred, Edward, Elfleda, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edgar—these are the true founders of the English empire. Of the Scottish kings who reigned at the same time we know so little, that we can scarcely decide whether the survival of the kingdom of Alban through the onslaughts of the Northmen was due to their personal vigour, or to the fact that Caithness and the Isles bore the brunt of the Norwegian attack. The poverty of intellectual life in Alban is revealed by the meagreness of the only national chronicle. There is, therefore, nothing inherently improbable in the idea that the weaker and more barbarous kingdom accepted the supremacy of the stronger and more civilized, especially when we find that the latter entertained distinct claims of imperial sovereignty in the island of Britain. Our best authority, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tells us expressly that the king of Scots and the whole nation of the Scots chose Edward the Elder to father and lord; that Athelstan ruled over Constantine, king of Scots; that the Scots gave oaths to Edred, that they would all that he would; and that Malcolm II. of Scotland became the man of Cnut. The supremacy indeed was little more than nominal; the commendation of the king of Scots was personal and not territorial, except as regards Cumberland and Lothian, where the land

was distinctly granted in return for pledges of service. But the English kings had no power of enforcing the service if it was withheld except by the cumbrous method of an expedition into Scotland; still less had they any authority over the king of Alban's immediate subjects.

Strathclyde incorporated with Scotland.—About the same time that the Scottish kingdom was enlarged by the cession of Lothian, it was further strengthened by the incorporation of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Strathclyde, after electing the Scottish Donald as its king in 908, continued to have a line of kings of its own till 1018. They appear to have been under the immediate suzerainty of the king of Scots, but the kings of Wessex claimed an imperial authority over them. Strathclyde had already undergone an Anglizing process. A large migration of its British inhabitants to Wales is reported after the Danish invasions; and though the Scottish kings address their Welsh subjects in charters as late as Malcolm IV., there can be no doubt that the country had been extensively colonized by Angles and Northmen, and the appearance of the inhabitants at the present day points to a Teutonic origin. The Welsh language appears to have died out in the twelfth century. The last separate king of Strathclyde whom we read of was Owen, who was slain in 1018, perhaps at the battle of Carham, where he certainly fought on the side of Malcolm II. After his death, Malcolm appears to have made his own grandson (Duncan) king of Strathclyde. Malcolm left no sons, and Duncan succeeded him in 1034 as king of Scots. We have only to look at the map to see the immense accession of territory

which was thus gained by the Scottish kings. Their power at that time did not extend northwards beyond the Spey; their ancient kingdom of Dalriada was a barren land of mountains, and even in Pictland the plains along the shore formed less than half of the whole country. South of the Forth, however, they now became possessed of a broad level region, of which the province of Lothian would be the most fertile and wealthy part. This fact alone, without any assertion of the superior industry and doughtiness of the people of Lothian, would be enough to account for the transference of the political centre to the southern province, and for the gradual victory of the Teutonic element in the religion, laws, and language of Scotland. For a long time such phrases as "going out of Scotland into Largs" for crossing the Clyde, or "out of Scotland into Lothian" for crossing the Forth, preserved the memory of the former separation of the kingdoms. It was centuries before the English of Lothian ceased to think of themselves as English or accepted the name of Scots; that transformation was not effected till the wars of the fourteenth century had created a factitious national hatred between the Angles of Lothian and their southern kinsmen.

The cession of Lothian was the making of Scotland; it was some small return for the great gift which the Gael of Iona had so willingly given to the English nation. Let us gratefully acknowledge the influence of the Kelt before he fades away from our pages as a sovereign nation, only to reappear as a rebel or a cateran. Of the Picts we can say little; they have left no literature, and their social development was low. But the Gaels who colonized Argyll had traditions

of learning and culture ; and there still exists in their ancient mother-tongue a literature full of fancy, tenderness, and grace. They nobly gave themselves for the evangelization of Europe ; and though the influence of their Church was destined to pale before the greater Church of Rome, it cannot be denied that the portrait drawn by Beda of their missionaries contrasts favourably with that of some of the missionaries of Rome. There was much pleasant and kindly intercourse between the Church of Iona and the Northumbrian kingdom, even after the dispute about Easter had been settled in favour of Rome. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona (703), was converted to the Roman usage through his intercourse with Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, who had himself spent some time in Ireland for the sake of studying letters. It is as strange as pleasant to find in the pages of Beda the true spirit of Christian toleration, that virtue absolutely unknown to later ages, which it took so much hard fighting to plant on earth, but which we find quietly blooming in the eighth century in the cloisters of Jarrow, when the Roman monk writes of the Columban saints.

CHAPTER III.

THE ACQUISITION OF SCOTLAND BY LOTHIAN.

Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret.—If the cession of Lothian is the most important event in the history of Scotland, the next in importance is the marriage of Malcolm III. (Canmore) with Margaret, granddaughter of King Edmund Ironsides.

Malcolm III. was the son of Duncan, who had been made king of Strathclyde during the life of his grandfather Malcolm II. Duncan had attempted to prosecute the Scottish claim on Bernicia, but had been repulsed with loss from the siege of Durham (1040). In the same year he was completely defeated by Thorfinn, earl of Orkney (who had a good claim to the kingdom, being also by his mother a grandson of Malcolm II.), whom he had attempted to make tributary. Duncan was shortly afterwards murdered by Macbeth, the Mormaer or Ealdorman of Moray, who had some claim to the Scottish crown through his wife. This is the Macbeth whose legendary history has been immortalized by Shakspeare. In 1054 Siward, earl of Northumbria, who was related by marriage to Duncan, was sent by Edward the Confessor to invade Scotland in favour of Malcolm, son of Duncan, and

defeated Macbeth, but only succeeded in establishing Malcolm in Lothian and Strathclyde. Malcolm, whose kinship with Siward shows him to have been half English or Anglo-Danish by birth, had now passed fourteen years of his life in England, and knew the English tongue as well as his own. After reigning three years in Lothian and Strathclyde, he overthrew Macbeth, and became king of Scotland (1057). Some twelve years after this, when Edgar the Etheling, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, grandchildren of Edmund Ironsides by his son Edward, who had married in exile a daughter of the king of Hungary, took refuge in Scotland from the severity of William, the Norman Conqueror, Malcolm was struck by the beauty and grace of Margaret and made her his wife.

This marriage was the most exalted which any Scottish king had yet made. Margaret was the descendant of a long line of kings who called themselves the Emperors of Britain, and whose court was the centre of civilization in the island. On her mother's side she counted a holy Roman emperor among her ancestors. She was moreover the direct heir to the English crown after her childless brother Edgar, and she thus brought into the Scottish royal house a claim to the English throne. But her own personal character was more important still. She was a woman of unusual cultivation for that age, and of great force of character. Her influence over her husband was almost boundless. Her advice was supreme in all matters of state. She steadily aimed at introducing into the kingdom and church of Scotland the civilization of England. She loved not only

the substance but the show of civilization, and wisely sought to enhance the dignity of royalty in the eyes of a barbarous people by greatly increasing the pomp of her husband's court. She insisted on better dress among the Scottish ladies, and gave encouragement to merchants and to trade. She decorated the shrines of the churches, and established a school of embroidery in her own palace for ecclesiastical robes. She tried, and with so much tact and wisdom that she succeeded, to abolish all the customs in the Scottish church which were contrary to those of Rome. She was herself so well read in theology that she was able to silence all disputants; but she showed no bigotry towards the Keltic church, but paid all reverence to its holy men.

The Norman Conquest, 1066.—An event had now taken place in England which was greatly to increase the power and stability of the English kingdom, by introducing a stronger government than England had ever known before. But it was not till the year 1070 that the conquest of England by William the Norman was complete; the ancient Northumbrian realm did not submit without several struggles. It was natural that Malcolm III. should see in the disaffection of the north of England an opportunity for extending the Scottish frontier. The ancient house of the Lords of Bamborough still retained the chief authority in Northumbria. Although Tostig, son of Earl Godwin, and Morcar, son of Elfgar, earl of Mercia, had successively obtained the earldom of Northumbria in the reign of Edward the Confessor, the portion north of Tyne had reverted to Osulf, a direct descendant of Earl Uchtred. An attempt made by William to dis-

possess Osulf in favour of Copsig, a follower of Tostig, ended in the murder of Copsig; but at the death of Osulf, in the same year, Gospatrick, another grandson of Earl Uchtred, bought the earldom from William.

Gospatrik's mother was the daughter of Uchtred by his third wife Elfgiva, daughter of King Ethelred II.; his father was Maldred, son of Crinan, the lay-abbot of Dunkeld, by the daughter of King Malcolm II. Gospatrick was thus descended from the royal lines of England and Scotland, as well as from the ancient chieftains of Bernicia; he must have been an important man, and he may have hoped to maintain the same half-independent position between the kingdoms of England and Scotland which his ancestors had held. It was not long before he and the Earls Edwin and Morcar formed an alliance with the king of Scots, to resist the advance of William towards the yet unconquered North. The first attempt failed through the treason of Edwin and Morcar; William established himself at York, and Gospatrick fled to Scotland with the Etheling Edgar and his sisters (1068).

Revolt of the North, 1069.—The attempt of William to set up a Norman in the earldom of Gospatrick led to the great rebellion of the North, by which the northern earls and people attempted to reinstate Edgar in the northern part of the kingdom with the help of a Danish force. The only result of this was the conquest of the North by William, and the ruthless harrying of the whole country between the Humber and the Tyne. Gospatrick made submission and got back his earldom. The alliance between him and the king of Scots appears now to have been dissolved; for

when, after William's forces had retired, Malcolm entered Teesdale and harried Cleveland and Durham, Gospatrick retaliated by a plundering raid into Cumberland, which Malcolm appears to have seized upon this expedition.

Malcolm does homage to William, 1072.—It now became necessary for William to settle what his relations with the king of Scots were to be. He marched without opposition through Lothian into the true Scotland beyond the Forth, and received the homage of Malcolm at Abernethy. What this homage implied no historian tells us; but the submission was so complete that the son of Malcolm, Duncan, was carried away by William as a hostage for the obedience of his father. This is the first time we hear of any solid guarantees being exacted for the submission of the Scottish kings. It is a sign of the more definite and precise feudalism which came in with the Conqueror and his sons; it marks the intention, never wholly abandoned by the Norman kings, and realized at last by Henry II., of making the feudal relation of Scotland to England as definite as that of Normandy to France. Returning from Scotland thus successful, William was now strong enough to depose Gospatrick from his earldom, on charges which he had condoned when his arm was not long enough to reach the offender. He did not yet venture, however, to place a foreigner in Northumberland, but gave the earldom to Waltheof, son of Siward and great-grandson of Earl Uchtred. Gospatrick fled to Scotland, and becoming reconciled to Malcolm, received from him the earldom of Dunbar. When Waltheof was beheaded for his share in the revolt of Ralph Guader,

the government of his earldom was given to Walcher, bishop of Durham.

Malcolm again harried Northumberland in 1079, and Robert, son of the Conqueror, was sent to Lothian three years later to force him to renew his homage, but without success. On his return Robert built Newcastle, to defend the northern counties against the inroads of the Scottish king.

While William Rufus was reigning in England, Malcolm again invaded the North, apparently with the design of restoring Edgar Etheling, who was then again in Scotland, to the English throne. The invasion was repelled by the "good men who guarded this land;" but the news of it brought William II. back to England from Normandy. He marched through Lothian with a powerful army, but no blow was struck, because the fleet, which was to have co-operated with him, was destroyed by a storm, while bad weather and want of food paralysed the army. Malcolm came to meet him at the Scots' Water, as the Firth of Forth was then called, and by the mediation of Robert, the king's brother, and Edgar Etheling, a peace was concluded between the two kings, Malcolm swearing to William "the same obedience that he had sworn to his father."

William II. annexes Cumberland, 1092.—William was the first to break this peace. Cumberland, a name which then applied to the whole country between the Solway and the Duddon, and the Rere Cross of Stainmore on the east, had not been part of William I.'s conquest. As has been said already, it had been nominally under the government of the Northumbrian earls; but large settlements of Norwegians had been

formed both on the coast and among the mountains. In the complete obscurity of its history during the eleventh century, we only know that Malcolm III. seized it, probably in 1070, and held it in 1072 by right of conquest. William I. never made any attempt to win it, but William II. probably regarded it as rightly belonging to his kingdom, and did not hesitate to wrest it from Malcolm. The ancient Roman city of Carlisle was lying in ruins in the reign of Rufus, having been destroyed by the Northmen; and the district was governed, for the king of Scots, by one Dolfin, a son of Earl Gospatrick. William not only drove out Dolfin, but secured his conquest of Cumberland by restoring the city of Carlisle, building and garrisoning a castle there; and more than all, by importing a colony of "ceorls" from the southern parts of England. The castle built at Carlisle, with others which now arose at Wark, Norham, and Prudhoe, put the frontier into a better state of defence against the raids of the Scots.

Malcolm invades England, 1093.—This seizure of a province which Malcolm had held for twenty years may have had some part in the quarrel which broke out the next year between the kings, and which the chroniclers ascribe to the refusal of William to fulfil the promises which he had made at the Scots' Water. Malcolm tried first to obtain satisfaction by peaceful means, but these failing, he invaded Northumberland, and harried the country with the cruelty which English chroniclers always ascribe to the raids of Scottish kings. But on this expedition he met with his death-wound at the hand of Morel, the steward of Robert Mowbray, the Norman Earl of Northumberland. His

eldest son, by Margaret, was slain with him, and the good queen, who was already in her death-sickness, breathed her last on hearing the dreadful news.

Victory of the Anglicized Dynasty.—The disaster which thus befel the Scotch royal house was followed by a revolution, in which the Keltic element in Scotland made a brief struggle for supremacy. Donald Bane, brother of Malcolm III., was raised to the throne, and the English officials who had formed the court of Malcolm were driven from the country. But the Anglo-Norman party soon found a leader in Duncan, son of Malcolm and Ingebiorg, who had been living as a hostage at the Norman court ever since 1072. Duncan offered to William "such homage as he required," and with the aid of English and Norman troops he expelled Donald Bane from the throne. The struggle, however, between the Keltic and English party was continued for four years longer, and for a time it seemed as though the ancient separation between Bernicia and Alban would be revived when Donald Bane ruled again north of the Forth, and Edmund, son of Malcolm, in Lothian. But the struggle ended in 1097, when Edgar the Etheling, acting as the lieutenant of William Rufus, led an army into Scotland, and by hard fighting drove out Donald Bane, and established his nephew Edgar, fourth son of Malcolm and Margaret. Donald Bane and Edmund were kept in captivity until they died, and the succession to the Scotch throne was secured to the Anglicized family of Malcolm. Never after this time did the blood of the Scotch kings receive a Keltic cross; no Gaelic chieftain's daughter was mother to any king of Scotland.

Transformation of the Scottish Kingdom and Church.—Ever since the accession of Malcolm the silent revolution, which was to make Scotland an English kingdom, had been going on. Malcolm was half English by birth; he had spent fourteen years in England; he had been helped to the throne by English aid; he had married an English wife, and his sympathies were with his English rather than his Gaelic subjects. After the Norman conquest there was a steady emigration across the Tweed of those English who would not submit to William, or those who were driven from England by his frightful devastation of the North. Many of the English nobility received lands in Scotland.* The towns which were fostered by Malcolm and his sons were filled with English and Flemish traders, and the laws by which they were governed were those of the Anglo-Saxon burghs.

The Church of Scotland also underwent a silent process of transformation. Settled territorial sees were founded, whose bishops were members of the Roman church. Priests from the south were spread over the northern parts of the kingdom, and after the reign of Malcolm III. Gaelic names are rarely to be found among the Scotch hierarchy. Malcolm and Margaret introduced Benedictines into the abbey which they founded at Dunfermline, and in the next century the Cistercians and other Roman orders completed the Romanizing of the Keltic Church. By asking Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to become her spiritual adviser, Margaret virtually

* The families of Lindsay, Ramsey, Wishart, Wardlaw, Maxwell, and Crichton are among those which are believed to have settled in Scotland during this reign.

acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of Canterbury. As the national feeling of Scotland developed, this supremacy of Canterbury was steadily resisted by the Scotch clergy. As our limits do not allow us to trace the history of the struggle of the Scotch Church for independence of Canterbury and York, we will only mention here that in 1188 the Scots obtained from Pope Clement III. a bull, declaring the Scotch Church to be the immediate daughter of Rome.

The names which Margaret gave to her children are very significant. Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, and Edith show how strong her English sympathies were, and her pride in belonging to the royal house of England. The name of Alexander points to the entrance of foreign romance into the court of Scotland, while David marks admiration for the typical religious king, the founder of a strong monarchy under divine authority. These names alone would be sufficient to show that the kingdom of the Scots had now taken a new departure.

Feudalism introduced into Scotland.—Edgar, son of Malcolm, who was placed on the throne by the soldiers of William Rufus, was surrounded by an English court, and the names of the witnesses of the one charter which remains of him are all English. He addresses his subjects as Scots and English. His brother and successor, Alexander I., after suppressing a Gaelic insurrection, struggled vigorously to introduce into Scotland the feudal order which he saw in England. But it was under David (1124), the youngest of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, that the change which had already taken place in the Scotch polity was consolidated. David seems to

have accompanied his sister Edith (henceforth called Matilda) to England in 1100, when her marriage to Henry I. took place, that marriage so popular among the English, by which the blood of the old English kings was brought into the Norman line. David was educated at the English court, and, as Malmsbury says, "polished from a boy by intercourse and familiarity with us." He married the daughter of Earl Waltheof, the widow of the Norman Earl of Northampton. By this marriage he brought into the possession of the kings of Scotland the earldom of Northampton and honour of Huntingdon, and a new claim to the ancient earldom of Uchtred—a claim steadily pursued by the Scotch kings for more than a century. David was in fact a Norman baron. During the lifetime of his brother he had held Scottish Cumbria as an independent earldom, and had gathered round him a following of Norman nobles. This influx of Norman adventurers into what is now Scotland went on during the reign of David, until that quiet revolution was completed, which we may not incorrectly describe as the Anglo-Norman subjugation of Scotland.*

It was David's distinct plan to change the ancient Keltic monarchy into a feudal state. Changes in this direction were made easy by the large English and Norman element which now filled the ranks of the

* Among the Norman families thus introduced into Scotland were those of De Moreville, Bruce, Umfraville, Riddell, Corbett, Percy, Lindsay, Cumming, and Fitz Alan. Flemish settlers were much encouraged by David, and the families of Douglas, Leslie, Fleming, and Burgon are all of Flemish origin.

nobility. The change consisted mainly in the transition from a tribal to a territorial state; from a condition in which everything depended on a man's personal relations, to a condition in which everything depended on a man's relation to the land. The authority which Malcolm possessed over his Keltic subjects was merely personal, and rested in him as the head of the tribe. His authority over Lothian was that of a territorial lord; and it was this authority which the family of Malcolm struggled to transfer over the whole of Scotland. This change had already come about in England, so gradually and quietly that it has required a rigorous investigation to trace its progress distinctly. In Scotland it was brought about more artificially by the will of the rulers, favoured by the already existing institutions of Lothian and Strathclyde. As a feudal monarch, David claimed to be the supreme landlord of Scotland, and in his reign the tribe lands which had not been granted to feudal lords were treated as royal demesnes. In no country was the ideal of a feudal state more completely realized than in Scotland; while in other feudal states the tenant was allowed to alienate his land by paying a fine, in Scotland no alienation could take place except through the medium of the superior. Further, the appointment of sheriffs or king's officers to collect the royal dues, begun by Alexander or David, gradually brought the royal authority to bear directly on all parts of the kingdom.

Lothian the ruling Province of Scotland.—Since David was bent on consolidating his kingdom after the model of feudal England, and on putting an end to the barbarism of the clan system, we can understand

why he encouraged the immigration of English rebels and Norman adventurers, men of valour and spirit, bound by no ties to the English king, on whom he could rely to defend his monarchy against both Scots and English. These adventurers were settled in southern Scotland, where alone David's claim to be supreme landlord was fully recognized, and thus was brought about in David's time the transference of political supremacy from the north to the south of the Forth. The great ecclesiastical foundations of David—Holyrood, Melrose, Kelso, and Jedburgh—were all in Lothian; and from the time of David onward Lothian became the ruling province of Scotland.

Lothian conquers Keltic Scotland.—But in order to complete this great change in the internal polity of Scotland the Anglo-Scottish descendants of Malcolm had to engage in nothing less than a conquest of the Keltic parts of the kingdom. Alexander I. began his reign by suppressing the rebellion of the Keltic Mormaer of Moray, chief of the north-eastern Kelts. The sons of this same Moray chieftain rose against David while he was absent at the court of Henry I., and he owed the preservation of his authority to the vigour of Edward the Constable, one of his English followers, and to the help of an Anglo-Norman force from Northumberland and Yorkshire. The earldom of Moray was declared forfeited to the Crown, and was regranted, in portions, to nobles in whom David could place confidence. This was the greatest breach made on the Keltic power since the subjection of the Picts by Oswy. Fordun tells us that David's successor, Malcolm IV. (1160), drove out the Keltic inhabitants of Moray, and replaced them by "his own peaceful

people ;” to wit, English from Lothian. Without accepting so wholesale a displacement, we may believe that Malcolm, like David, encouraged the settlement of Englishmen, Flemings, and Normans in the Keltic districts, though this immigration was chiefly confined to the towns, which were in fact Teutonic colonies. The evidence of topography shows that such colonies were very thickly planted between the Forth and the Grampians, more sparsely on the sea-board between the Grampians and the Moray Firth. Malcolm’s brother and successor, William the Lion, conquered Ross (1179), and Alexander II. subdued Argyle, the original seat of the Scottish monarchy (1222).

The descendants of Duncan (son of Malcolm III. and Ingebiorg) struggled for many generations against the descendants of Margaret, and were warmly supported by the Kelts. An old chronicler says of one of these claimants, “He was of the ancient lineage of the Scottish kings, and both he and his father Donald, with the support of the Scots, exercised constant hostilities against the modern kings ; for these modern kings show that they are Normans, both in race, customs, language, and culture ; and having reduced the Scots to utter servitude, they admit Normans only to their friendship and service.” At an assembly of the estates of Scotland in 1283, amidst a crowd of Norman barons, the only Keltic nobles present were the native chieftains of Argyle and the Isles. Argyle and Ross, the most Keltic regions of the kingdom, were a constant source of trouble to the Scotch crown ; and it was not till 1476 that the contest was finished, when the earldom of Ross was annexed to the crown, and the Keltic lordship of the Isles became

a feudal barony. But as late as the eighteenth century the tradition that the Lowlands had once been held by their forefathers was still living among the Highlanders, and was regarded as investing their plundering raids with a species of right.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF SCOTLAND.

The Scotch Kings as English Barons.—During the twelfth and the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century, a period in which Scotland was consolidating her dominion within her own border, and forming her government on the model of that of Henry I., but with less safeguard against the power of the baronage, the relations between England and Scotland were in the main peaceable. There was no national hatred between English and Scotch at a time when the Lowland Scotch fully recognized that they were English. The battles which took place between England and Scotland were episodes rather than natural results of a struggle between rival nations. There was no such struggle; the kings of Scotland, from the days of Malcolm III. to the days of Alexander III., accepted the vague supremacy of the kings of England, only quarrelling with them occasionally on subsidiary matters. They always did homage to the kings of England; but as from the time of David till the war of independence they always held lands in England, it is difficult to prove that this homage was rendered for anything else than their English estates. They certainly performed no feudal services for their Keltic

dominions. It was not, however, wholly forgotten that they owed homage for Lothian. They were attracted by the brilliancy of the English court, and were willing to shine there as subordinate stars.

Battle of the Standard, 1138.—David I., being brother of Matilda, Henry I.'s wife, was uncle to the Empress Matilda, and had sworn adherence to her along with the other great barons of England. It was natural that he should take her side in her quarrel with Stephen, natural also that he should see in this struggle an opportunity for recovering the lost conquest of Malcolm Canmore in Cumberland, and asserting his own claim, in right of his wife, to the earldom of Northumberland. He was satisfied at first with the cession of Cumberland, which Stephen granted to his son Henry; but the jealousy with which the Anglo-Norman barons looked upon this grant led to a breach between the two kings, and to the celebrated Battle of the Standard. The army which David led towards North Allerton on this occasion was a motley host, in which the English of Lothian were joined with the Scots from beyond the Scots' Water, the wild Picts from Galloway, and Norsemen from the Orkneys, in fighting against the native militia of Yorkshire, with some Norman and Flemish troops, under the Norman baron William of Albemarle. The banner under which the Scotch army fought was the ancient Dragon of Wessex, the flag of David's mother's house, much dearer to him than any ensign of the tribes of Fergus. The speech which is attributed by a chronicler to Robert Bruce, the ancestor of that famous house, one of the Norman leaders on the English side, shows how the relations between England and Scotland were

understood at that time. The Scotch king is upbraided with fighting against Normans and Englishmen, his best friends, on whose counsel and help he had always relied. He is reminded that his brothers, Edgar and Duncan, recovered their thrones by English arms, and that the same help had sustained him against a recent Gaelic rebellion. It is a new thing to see him putting his trust in Scots and Galwegians, and coming to fight against those by whose help he has hitherto been a popular ruler over the Scots and a terrible one over the Galwegians.

England loses and recovers the Four Northern Counties.—The Battle of the Standard was won by the English, but the advantages of the war fell to King David, as Northumberland and Durham were now formally ceded to his son Henry, who held them during the rest of Stephen's reign, just as Cumberland and Westmoreland were held by his father. On this very account they enjoyed greater peace than their sister counties, which were suffering all the agonies of civil war and baronial tyranny. Henry, the son of Matilda, received knighthood from his uncle David at Carlisle, having first given pledges that he would never disturb David's heirs in possession of the northern shires.

Henry II. of England, however, was not the man to rest content with any diminution of the kingdom which he had inherited from his grandfather. After his accession, as soon as he had finished the work of restoring order and law in England, he turned his attention to the Scotch frontier. The successor of David, Malcolm IV., who was only a boy, was compelled to cede the four northern counties to the English,

receiving in exchange the earldom of Huntingdon, the inheritance of his grandmother, Waltheof's daughter (1157). Malcolm became a baron of Henry's court, and followed his cousin in his wars on the Continent.

Treaty of Falaise, 1174.—The harmony between the English and Scotch crowns was uninterrupted till the rebellion of the younger Henry, a rebellion which was truly a rebellion of the Norman baronage against the authority of the king, and in which the king of Scots, William the Lion (brother of Malcolm), joined, in the hope of winning back Northumberland for Scotland. It was at the most critical moment of this rebellion that William entered Northumberland, and was joined by the Bishop of Durham. But again, as at the Battle of the Standard, the native English militia rallied against the invader. Ranulf Glanville and the forces of Yorkshire surprised William the Lion at Alnwick, and brought him prisoner to Henry at Falaise. The consequence of this catastrophe was, that for the first time the relations between the English and Scotch crowns were defined by treaty. William only obtained his liberty by doing homage expressly for his kingdom of Scotland, by surrendering his strongest castles into the hands of Henry, and by causing his bishops and barons to take the oath of fealty to the English king.

No such complete feudal submission of Scotland had ever been known before, but it was of short duration. Richard I., in order to raise money for the third crusade, renounced the treaty of Falaise for the sum of 10,000 marks. He made an absolute renunciation of all claims of homage for the kingdom of Scotland (1189).

The reign of William the Lion was chiefly occupied

with the struggle to bring the Keltic and Norwegian provinces of Scotland under the immediate dominion of his crown. The fulcrum of his power lay in Lothian and Strathclyde; but even in southern Scotland he had to contend with the Keltic element, in the Pictish principality of Galloway. One of the first consequences of his captivity was, that Galloway threw off the rule of Scotland, and transferred its allegiance to the king of England. But the successors of Henry II. did not think Galloway worth fighting about, and the marriage of the lord of Galloway to the niece of William the Lion, the marriage from which John Balliol descended, decided the incorporation of Galloway with Scotland.

Scotland's share in the Magna Charta Struggle.—William the Lion attempted to buy the county of Northumberland from Richard I., but gave up the negotiation because Richard would not surrender the castles. John quarrelled with William because the Scotch had opposed the building of an English castle at Tweedmouth. William, who was old and feeble, was obliged to submit to a treaty, by which he paid a large sum as a security for peace, and gave hostages to the king of England, to whom also he entrusted his daughters to be given in marriage (1208). In the troubles of John's reign the English barons obtained the alliance of the young king of Scots, Alexander II., by a promise of the northern counties. When war broke out between the king and the barons, after the signing of Magna Charta, Alexander II. crossed the frontier, and laid siege to Norham. He received the homage of the Northumbrian nobles; and when the news came that John was marching northwards, all the insurgent

nobles of Yorkshire followed Alexander as he withdrew into Scotland, and swore fealty to him at Melrose. John advanced by York, Newcastle, and Berwick, marking his way by rapine and slaughter (1216). The castles of Northumberland surrendered, and neither the Scotch nor their allies dared to show themselves in open field. The troops of John plundered and burnt all over the country between Berwick and Edinburgh, and having thus, as he expressed it, "stirred up the young red fox in his lair," John returned victorious into England, setting fire with his own hands to the house in which he had lodged at Berwick. No sooner had he retired to the South than Alexander avenged his inroad by an equally merciless raid through Northumberland, Richmond, and Westmoreland.

While John was occupied in the South by the invasion of Louis of France, Alexander again advanced into England and took Carlisle. From Carlisle he marched southwards through England with his whole army, and joined Louis at Dover. He did homage to Louis "for the right which he ought to hold of the king of the English." It was in marching northwards to cut off the return of the king of Scots that John met with his death.

After the battle of Lincoln, and the departure of the French from England, the king of Scots still held out in Carlisle until the papal legate, Gualo, laid Scotland under an interdict. Alexander then submitted, and did homage to the young king Henry III. The peace was cemented by a marriage between Alexander and Joanna, sister of Henry. A joint commission of Scotch and English was appointed to trace the

boundary between England and Scotland. The commissioners could not agree, but the line traced by the English was the same as that followed now by the Ordnance Survey.

Final Settlement of the Scotch Frontier, 1237.—It is in the reign of Alexander II. that we first hear of any direct assertions by the kings of Scotland of the independence of their kingdom—assertions which must have been called forth by attempts to claim their homage as due for Scotland, or for Lothian. These claims appear to have been instigated by Peter des Roches, and the Pope was induced to write a letter to Alexander in support of them. Alexander met this demand by a counter claim on the county of Northumberland, which he declared had been promised to him by John as the marriage portion of his daughter Joanna, and for which he could produce a charter. The question was peacefully settled by a treaty at York. Alexander renounced all the claims which he and his ancestors had made on the three northern counties, and received in compensation certain estates in Cumberland and Northumberland.

Preludes of the coming Struggle.—After the death of Joanna, sister of Henry III., Alexander married a daughter of the proud house of De Coucy, who were among the most prominent of Henry's enemies in France. The friendship between Henry and Alexander cooled very much after this marriage, and Alexander sent the English king a defiant message, declaring that he did not hold the least particle of the kingdom of Scotland from him. Henry gathered a powerful army, and summoned the whole nobility of England to meet him at Newcastle. Alexander on his side gathered

his best forces; and we are told by the chronicler that they were careless of death, seeing that they were about to fight in a just cause on behalf of their country. The personal popularity of Alexander II. among the English nobles appears to have contributed to the bloodless settlement which was made at Newcastle. Alexander signed a treaty of peace with Henry, in which, though no mention is made of homage, he speaks of Henry as his liege lord.

We can scarcely help seeing in this incident a prelude to the struggle for national independence which was to take place before the close of the century. When, after the death of Alexander II., the child Alexander III. was crowned at Scone, a venerable Highlander appeared on the scene, and recited in Gaelic the pedigree of the young king, tracing it back to those fabulous heroes whom the Scotch had first heard of from Geoffrey of Monmouth. This picturesque circumstance was probably not without significance. A spirit of national independence was growing up in Scotland; an intellectual basis for this feeling was desired, and was easily found in reviving the fact of the Keltic descent of the Scotch dynasty, and in adopting the legends which made the monarchy of Scotland older than that of England. It had the double object of conciliating the Kelts and defying the English; and it was the first sentence of that chapter of mystification which has obscured the whole of Scotch history.

When the wedding of the boy Alexander III. with Margaret, daughter of Henry III., was celebrated at York, Alexander did homage to Henry "for Lothian, and for the rest of his lands in England" (1251).

But when he was asked to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland also, he declined, on the plea that he had not held counsel with his nobles on this difficult subject; and Henry was unwilling to press an unpleasant request at such a time of rejoicing. Nor does he appear ever to have pressed his claim. The youth of Alexander III. was passed amid the stormy intrigues of the great barons, in which Henry once interfered to support his son-in-law. Soon after this Henry fell into the great contest with his own people, which completely tied his hands from any action in Scotland. Alexander and his queen were frequent visitors at Henry's court; and after the birth of Margaret, the heiress of Scotland, at Windsor, Henry had to quieten the jealousy of the Scotch by a promise that the mother and daughter should be sent back to Scotland as speedily as possible.

The relations between England and Scotland were peaceable during the whole of Alexander's reign. The great event of that reign in Scotland was the struggle with Norway. Hakon, king of Norway, was defeated by the Scotch at the battle of Largs (1263), and Man and the Hebrides were surrendered to Scotland by Norway. Margaret, daughter of Alexander, was given in marriage to Eric, son of Hakon.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Death of the Maid of Norway.—When Alexander III. died, his only heir was his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, a little child of three, the offspring of his daughter Margaret and Eric, king of Norway. The great statesman who now sat on the English throne, Edward I., sought to avail himself of the splendid opportunity which thus offered itself of uniting the Crowns of England and Scotland. He proposed a treaty of marriage between his son Edward Prince of Wales and the Maid of Norway. The Estates of Scotland willingly assented, and the treaty was signed at Brigham, all the rights and laws of Scotland being fully reserved (1290). But only two months later the bright prospect which now opened for the two countries was clouded over by the death of the child-queen on her way from Norway to Scotland.

Edward I. was probably the first king of England since the Norman Conquest who discerned that England, and not his foreign dominions, was the true seat of his greatness, and that the greatness of England could not be complete until the whole island was united under one sway. He had successfully incorporated Wales with England, and it was his

highest ambition to incorporate Scotland also. It is absurd to see nothing but ambition in this wise and statesmanlike project; it is still more absurd to suppose that the struggle between England and Scotland was the struggle between two different races. The Scotch of Lothian were English, and knew that they were English. Their language was still called English, and their country was not yet called Scotland. The struggle was really a struggle between the dismembered but unsubdued kingdom of Ida and the Normanized kingdom of Cerdic. If we need proof of this we can have no stronger proof than that Edward's allies in the contest with Robert Bruce were the Keltic populations of Scotland, the Picts of Galloway, the Gael of Argyle and Ross. It was no national animosity which made the Lowland Scotch repel the rule of the English; it was simply that feeling of independence, strong in every English breast, impelling men to throw off any authority which attempts to impose itself upon them against their own will. Out of the struggle a factitious national hatred sprang up, as factitious as a hatred between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire would have been if Yorkshire had been annexed to Scotland.

Edward is asked to Arbitrate in Scotland.—After the death of the Maid of Norway Edward was invited by the Scotch to arbitrate between the candidates for the Crown. He summoned a Parliament of the Scotch Estates at Norham, and following the same principle which guided him in England he invited the Commons as well as the earls and barons. This seems to have been the first time that the Commons appeared among the Estates of Scotland (1291).

He asked of this assembly that as a necessary preliminary of the justice which he desired to do, they would acknowledge his right as overlord. It is evident that the supremacy of England in this definite form was not acknowledged as a matter of course by Scotland, as the assembly asked time to consult with the other notables, and the community of Scotland. After this delay the prelates and nobles had no objection to make to the claim of Edward; but the Commons gave a written answer, about which we are only told that it contained "nothing efficacious" against the king's overlordship.

Only two of the ten competitors had claims of any importance—John Balliol, a nobleman who had large estates both in France, in England, and in Galloway, and was descended from the elder daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, grandson of David I.; and Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, younger son of a Norman family who were very powerful in the north of England, and who claimed the Crown in right of his grandmother, the second daughter of Earl David. The competitors having all submitted their claims to Edward's decision, he appointed eighty arbiters, fifty Scotch and thirty English, to decide between Bruce and Balliol; they decided in favour of Balliol. Then when all the other claimants had been heard, Edward finally pronounced for Balliol. Some of the claimants wished to divide the kingdom, but Edward was too honourable to consent to this, which would have been greatly to his interest.

Breach between Edward and Balliol, 1292.—John Balliol was forthwith crowned king of Scotland at Scone, and did homage to Edward for his kingdom.

The acknowledgment of supremacy which Edward thus obtained was not intended to be a mere form ; he soon tried to make it a reality by assuming a right of appeal from the king of Scotland's court to his own as Lord Superior. But though Balliol had expressly acknowledged this right at his coronation, no king of England had ever exercised it in Scotland, and Balliol could not have submitted to it without losing his own authority. As he refused to plead in Edward's court he was found guilty of contempt, and it was ordered that the three chief strongholds of Scotland should be seized into the hands of the king of England, until the subject prince should do satisfaction to his lord. John humbly petitioned for a delay in which he might consult his Parliament, and it was granted. It was exactly at this crisis that a quarrel broke out between Edward and the king of France, who was his own Lord Superior for his dominions in Gascony. Edward had to prepare for an expedition against France, not without a struggle with his own subjects. The moment was opportune for Scotland. A national party sprang up, under the leadership of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, which put King John in tutelage. A parliament was held at Scone, which sent away all Englishmen who were in Balliol's employ, and chose a council to control him in carrying on the government. A league was made between John and Philip IV. of France, the first beginning of that long alliance between Scotland and France which so often thwarted England. The Scotch nobles refused to follow Edward in his war against France, and Balliol obtained a remission from the Pope of his oath of homage to Edward.

First Conquest of Scotland, 1296.—Driven to choose between Gascony and Scotland, Edward made a statesman's choice. He gathered an army at Newcastle, and it was with a sense of relief that he heard that the Scotch had been the first to break the peace, and had thus afforded him a legal excuse for beginning a regular conquest of the country. The Scots entered Cumberland, and after barbarously ravaging it, laid siege to Carlisle. Edward left the brave citizens of Carlisle to defend themselves, and marched to the siege of Berwick. He appears to have meant to make Berwick an example which should strike terror into the rest of Scotland, for the taking of the city was followed by a frightful massacre of the citizens. The Scotch army, repulsed by the gallant defence of Carlisle, passed over into Northumberland. They are accused of having burnt 200 boys alive in a grammar-school at Corbridge. Hexham, in ancient times one of the greatest religious centres of Northumbria, was given to the flames. The Scotch then retreated into Lothian, and were utterly defeated by the Earl of Warrene at Dunbar, a victory which decided the fate of Scotland for the time. Balliol saw that resistance was hopeless, and made his submission to Edward with all the formality of abjectness which the violation of feudal obedience to a superior could require. Edward advanced through the northern Lowlands as far as Elgin, in Moray, receiving everywhere the submission of the nobles, who renounced the alliance with France. Further he did not need to go, for the Keltic chieftains had been his allies from the first.

Except at Berwick, Edward was everywhere merciful to the conquered. To the clergy and to the widows of

those who had been implicated in what he regarded as a rebellion he gave back their confiscated property. King John was allowed after a few years of easy captivity in England to withdraw to his estates in France. The only change that was made in the government of Scotland was the appointment of an English regent, treasurer, and justiciar. But the symbol of rule in Scotland—the old grey boulder at Scone, on which the Scottish kings from time immemorial had been crowned—was carried away to Westminster, where it still remains.

Revolt of Wallace (1297).—But a stronger government brought with it a stricter taxation and a more rigorous execution of justice, both of which were equally odious to the Scotch. So was Edward's attempt to Anglicize the Scotch Church by introducing English monks and clergy into its abbeys and benefices. While the English regent was absent in England for his health, the dislike of the Scotch to English rule found a champion in William Wallace, the younger son of a Renfrewshire knight. He was supported from the first by the common people, and the movement spread gradually upward, though it was never warmly supported by the higher nobility; in fact the greatness of the insurrection of Wallace lies in the fact that it was the action of the people. When the nobles of Scotland, Norman by race and affinities, were willing to submit to the rule of the French-speaking king of England, the people of the Scotch lowlands, English in race and character, determined to be independent. It is not surprising that in a movement which thus arose out of the common people, numbers of those who flocked round Wallace were lawless

men, whose acts of violence he was unable to restrain, and that great barbarities were committed on his side. The first great success of Wallace, the expulsion of the English justiciar from Scone, was stained by a barbarous revenge on all the English whom the patriots could lay their hands on. Men and women were all slain or hunted away; monks had their hands tied behind their backs and were forced to spring into the river.

Edward was just about to start for Flanders when he first heard of Wallace's insurrection. He does not seem to have understood at first the greatness of the danger. The large army which advanced into Scotland in August under the leadership of Earl Warenne was perfectly confident in its ability to suppress the insurrection at once. But the genius of Wallace was even greater in the field than in council. He is often credited with having discovered the value of infantry in war. But in truth, fighting on foot was the old English method of warfare, which probably held its ground in Lothian when in England the heavily-armoured cavalry had come to be considered the most formidable of weapons. The armies met at Cambuskenneth, where Wallace had chosen his position with admirable skill. Some attempts at negotiation were made by the English commanders, but Wallace boldly answered them, "We have not come here for peace, but to fight; to avenge ourselves, and to set our country free." The utter incompetence of the English generals led to the total defeat of the English force (1297). Cressingham, the treasurer, was slain, and his skin made into a swordbelt for Wallace. The rout was so utter that Wallace had now no more

resistance to contend with in Lothian, so he crossed the border and harried the northern counties of England. He everywhere acted in the name of the dethroned King John, calling himself only the Guardian of Scotland.

Second Conquest of Scotland, 1298–1303.—The next year Edward himself led into Scotland the largest army he had ever gathered. Wallace avoided a battle as long as possible, but at last he was compelled to fight near Falkirk. In spite of his admirable tactics, his stout infantry was not a match for the English archers, who were already beginning to earn their fame; and when Wallace was attacked in his rear by a body of English led by Robert Bruce (son of the claimant), the fate of the day was decided. Finding resistance hopeless any longer, he fled to the king of France, and it is not improbable that he went to Rome also. It was doubtless owing to the influence of Wallace and Philip that Boniface VIII. issued a Bull claiming Scotland as a fief of Rome, and forbidding Edward to interfere in Scotland. This assumption Edward and his barons joined to repel.

But, in spite of Edward's victory at Falkirk, the second conquest of Scotland was far more difficult than the first, and cost him five campaigns instead of one. His hands were tied by the constitutional struggle in which he was involved with his own people, a quarrel which was not finally settled until 1301; nor was his dispute with France ended, even after the conclusion of the peace of Chartres, till 1303.*

He was then able to turn his full strength against

* He detached France from the Scotch alliance by marrying Margaret of France.

Scotland. A regency, composed of the younger Bruce (grandson of the claimant) and the younger Comyn, was still carrying on a precarious government in the name of King John. Wallace appeared again in Scotland, and even inflicted a signal defeat at Roslin on the English commander, Sir John Segrave. But it was his last success. When Edward entered Scotland, the exhausted country was not able to make any important resistance. Edward marched almost unhindered from the Tweed to Kinloss in Moray—that is, to the boundary of the English-speaking population—and on his return received the submission of the Scotch nobility at Strathorde. Again he acted with mercy. He exacted no penalties but fines of not unreasonable amount, and allowed the nobles to keep their lands. The case of Wallace was the single exception to his rule of clemency. As he refused to surrender at discretion, he put himself, according to Edward's punctilious ideas, out of law, and justified the use against him of the utmost legal rigour. It need not surprise us that Edward could see nothing but a lawless rebel in the man who had so nearly succeeded in baulking his great design for the unity of Britain. Wallace, when captured, was tried in due form for treason, and executed with the usual barbarous punishment for that offence.

Edward drew up a wise and statesmanlike scheme for the government of Scotland. He aimed at reforming the judicature, at developing parliamentary representation, at protecting the rights of the poor. While he united the Scotch and English parliaments by summoning the Scotch members to Westminster, he made it a point that the conquered nation should be

consulted both about reforms and about administration. There can be no doubt that his government would have been altogether salutary for Scotland if the primary condition of winning the national consent had been observed. But the Bernician Angles were not the people to bear a government imposed upon them against their will.

Revolt of Bruce, 1306.—The two men who had carried on the regency of Scotland while Wallace had commanded its army were the men who, next to Balliol, possessed the best claim to the Scotch Crown. The Red Comyn of Badenoch was nephew of Balliol. Robert Bruce was the grandson to the first claimant to the Crown. After much wavering he had thrown himself on the side of Wallace, declaring that he could not forswear his own flesh and blood. He submitted to Edward at Strathorde, and was allowed to enter into the inheritance of his father. But he had by no means given up his personal designs on the kingdom. He tried to draw Comyn into his plans; but Comyn refused, and betrayed him to Edward. Bruce was thus forced to hasty action. The murder of Comyn in the church of the Greyfriars at Dumfries, which rid him of his only strong rival, stained the beginning of his great enterprize. The English justices were driven from Dumfries, and Bruce took possession of the town. Before two months were over the rebellion had become general. Bruce being himself a noble, with a clear title to the Crown, secured a warmer support from the nobles than Wallace had been able to draw. Bruce saw that his surest step to success was to become a crowned king; and in March the Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, claimed the ancestral privi-

lege of her family, and placed the crown of Scotland on Bruce's head in the abbey church of Scone.

The rebellion of Scotland touched the pride of England to the quick, and Edward, who was already failing in health, strained every nerve to prepare for a new conquest. He knighted his son Edward and 240 young gentlemen with great pomp at Westminster, and at the banquet which followed he vowed by the swans which were brought to table that he would take vengeance for the contempt of God and His Church, which Bruce had shown in the murder of Comyn. His son and the other young knights made similar vows.

While Bruce was harrowing Galloway, whose Keltic inhabitants remained faithful to Edward, the army of Aymer de Valence, whom Edward had appointed regent of Scotland, advanced to Perth. Bruce hastened to oppose it, and was utterly defeated in the battle of Methven, 1306. He was unable to keep up resistance any longer, but became a fugitive for his life, pursued by the Highlanders even with bloodhounds. After many adventures and hairbreadth escapes, which have furnished Scotland with a fund of romantic literature, he fled to the north of Ireland. His principal supporters were taken prisoners one by one, and numbers of them suffered the cruel death of traitors, among them three of his brothers. The Countess of Buchan was placed in a wooden cage on the walls of Berwick.

But in the autumn of the same year Bruce appeared again in Carrick, and met with some success. He was then again defeated by the English, and had to hide in the moors and marshes. Edward, who had passed a sick and suffering winter in the Abbey of Lanercost,

was advancing towards Scotland by easy stages in the summer, when he died at Burgh-on-Sands (1307). One of his last acts was to rebuke his son for the cruelties he had inflicted on the country-folk of Scotland.

Battle of Bannockburn, 1314.—When the weak and pleasure-loving Edward II. came to the throne, the vows for the conquest of Scotland which he had sworn so solemnly were soon forgotten. Bruce was allowed to establish himself firmly, and to gain possession of most of the strongholds which still remained in the hands of the English. A truce was made in 1309, at the instigation of Philip IV. of France, Edward's father-in-law. The Scotch were accused of violating this truce, and Edward undertook two fruitless campaigns in Scotland. In the discord into which he fell soon afterwards with his own nobility about Piers Gaveston, the English Border was left an easy prey to the Scotch, and Bruce exacted a yearly tribute from the northern counties. Edward was powerless to raise forces to repress these raids; it was only when he had made peace with his nobles, after the execution of Gaveston, that he was able to lead an army into Scotland, intended to relieve Stirling, the last stronghold of any importance which the English still held. It was on this army, immense in numbers, but poor in leaders, and weak in its self-confidence, that Bruce inflicted the memorable defeat of Bannockburn, the great battle which secured the independence of Scotland.

Never was the humiliation of England more complete than when the king of England was hurrying from the bloody field of Bannockburn, scarcely drawing rein till he reached Dunbar. The nine years

which followed the battle were years of misery such as England had not known since Stephen's reign. The Scotch invaded the northern counties, and exacted black-mail as far as the Humber. The whole north of England became such a waste that the taxes could not be collected there at all. While the Scotch scornfully rejected the feeble efforts of the Pope to bring about a peace, and were utterly heedless of his excommunications, they showed their resolution by entering into the lists with England in Ireland. The Irish crown was offered to Robert Bruce, and accepted for his brother Edward; and though three years of devastating warfare in Ireland resulted only in the death of Edward Bruce and the extinction of his party, it showed another weak point in England's armour. In 1318 Bruce took Berwick, the last remaining token of Edward I.'s conquest. In vain did Edward II. march with a large army to recover it. While he was laying siege to the town the Scotch harried Yorkshire, and defeated a hasty levy of the forces of the shire in a bloody encounter known as the Chapter of Mitton, from the number of Churchmen who perished there. Out of the panic with which the whole north of England was smitten a new danger was seen emerging—that the northern counties would make common cause with the Scotch, their own king being unable to defend them. Many Englishmen were suspected of secretly aiding the Scotch, among them Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, whose great power in the North already threatened that of the king. His treason became known, and Edward was able to deal him the only successful blow which he ever struck (1322).

Encouraged by this triumph, Edward led a large

army into Scotland; but the expedition ended in failure and retreat, and Edward narrowly escaped being made prisoner by Bruce in Byland Abbey. And though Lancaster had been executed at Pontefract, the same danger of dismemberment still threatened England. Harelay, Earl of Carlisle, hitherto one of Edward's most faithful servants, was found to be carrying on secret negotiations with the Scotch. Other nobles of position were suspected of the same crime. Robert Bruce openly revived the old claim of the Scottish kings upon the northern counties, audaciously extending it to the Humber. At last the English government was obliged to acknowledge its defeat. Hitherto, all Bruce's demands to be recognized as king of Scotland had been met with an impotent refusal; they now received a sulky acquiescence. A truce was made for thirteen years, and in the Scotch copy of the deed Bruce was allowed to call himself king of Scotland (1323). Pope John XXII., who had already been moved to sympathy with Scotland by an earnest and manly protest addressed to him by the Scotch, released Bruce from excommunication, and recognized him as king of Scotland. Bruce took care to secure himself soon afterwards by an alliance with France.

Treaty of Northampton, 1328.—There was now peace between England and Scotland until the bloody revolution, in which Edward's guilty queen deprived him of his crown and life. At the accession of Edward III. the English government desired to renew the truce with the Scotch; but the Scotch raised their demands, and prepared to support them by an invasion of England. Edward III.'s first experience of warfare was an inglorious campaign on the Scotch

Border. This humiliating expedition was soon followed by a peace which the English nation regarded as equally humiliating. It was the crowning of the long labours of Robert Bruce that at last, in the treaty of Northampton, the English king acknowledged the full rights of "Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scotland," and made the penitential confession, "Since we and our ancestors, with the design of conquering Scotland, have plunged both kingdoms in war and misery, it is our will to bring them back to the blessings of peace, as they existed in the time of Alexander III." The peace was cemented by the marriage of the king's sister, Joanna, with David, son of Bruce. This treaty sealed the fall of Queen Isabella and Mortimer. It contained an ominous reservation of the French alliance with Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE TREATY OF NORTHAMPTON TO THE ACCESSION OF THE TUDORS.

THE relations between England and Scotland from the treaty of Northampton till the reign of Elizabeth may be briefly summed up. The two countries were bad neighbours for 230 years. When not actually at war they were plotting against one another, and their international hatred kept increasing in violence.

Edward III. supports Edward Balliol in Scotland.—

When a powerful kingdom makes a treaty with a weaker neighbour which is humiliating to its pride, some pretext is sure to be found for breaking its engagements. One of the conditions of the treaty of Northampton had been that three English nobles—Percy, Wake, and Beaumont—should have their Scotch estates restored to them. This condition was only fulfilled in the case of Percy, and Wake and Beaumont did not cease to instigate Edward III. to break the peace, as its conditions had not been fulfilled by the Scotch. Edward was unwilling openly to injure his sister Joanna, whose boy-husband, David II., had now become king of Scotland on the death of his father Robert Bruce (1331); but he secretly encouraged an attempt which was made by Edward,

son of John Balliol, to recover the crown which his father had held with so little credit. The attempt was for a time successful. Edward Balliol landed at Kinghorn, and defeated and slew the Regent Mar at the battle of Duplin Moor (1332). Balliol was crowned at Scone; but he was suddenly driven out of Scotland the same year by the young Earl of Moray. As the Scotch looked upon Edward III. as the supporter of Balliol, they were not slow to harry the English border during the winter. Edward now openly accused them of breaking the treaty, and marched against Scotland. At Halidon Hill he won a victory which did something to wipe away the disgrace of Bannockburn (1333). The flower of the Scotch nobility perished; but the only lasting result of the war was the capture of Berwick, which from this time became the property of England. It was more than once retaken by the Scotch; but it never afterwards remained long in their hands. Berwick and the Isle of Man were the only lasting gain which England kept in return for all the bloodshed of the Scotch wars.

Edward annexes Lothian.—But after the battle of Halidon Hill the fortunes of Scotland were very low for many years. The whole of the district which had been called Lothian in ancient times—that is, the eastern half of the country south of the Firths—was incorporated with England for a time, and was only recovered by Scotland after a struggle of nine years. David and his wife took refuge at the court of Philip VI. of France.

But Edward never threw his whole heart into the conquest of Scotland. When Philip's determined

aggressiveness obliged him to choose, as his grandfather had to choose, between Scotland and Aquitaine, he gave up Scotland that he might keep his French dominions; and he hoped to keep them by making himself master of France itself. This ambitious dream, which owing to the imperfect development of French nationality at that day had some encouragement from circumstances, while it led England on a false scent for a hundred years, secured the independence of Scotland.

David II. taken Prisoner, 1346.—It speaks much for the energy of Edward III., and the vigour of his government, that, in spite of his absorption in the French war, he was able to baulk all the efforts of the Scotch to effect any serious diversion in favour of their French ally. When David II. was stirred up by Philip to an invasion of England, in the very year of the battle of Crecy, he was defeated and taken prisoner at Nevil's Cross. The royal prisoner, a weak and pleasure-loving character, was easily brought to do homage to the king of England for his kingdom of Scotland. But the Scotch indignantly repudiated the submission of their king; and the Douglas family, whose services to the national cause had already won them immense popularity in Scotland, set themselves steadfastly to resist the attempts of the king of England to win supporters to his pretensions. French help was sent to Scotland; an alliance was entered into with the Irish, who had already broken into rebellion; and in a fortunate moment Berwick was seized. Edward, who was at Calais, hastened to Scotland, and quickly recovered Berwick; and having obtained from Edward Balliol a renunciation of his

unavailing rights, he had himself crowned king of Scotland at Bamborough, the royal seat of Ida (1355).

Edward reconquers Lothian.—It would seem that on this expedition Edward actually reconquered a great part of Lothian, which even in the year 1367 is found "in the king of England's peace." Roxburgh Castle continued in English hands till 1460. A great opportunity now offered itself for the conquest of Scotland. But the old policy of keeping out of sight of the invader, and starving him out, which had balked so many English invasions, was again successfully tried by the Scotch; and Edward was eager to return to fields where glory was more easily won.

Decline of English Fortune.—The splendid victory of Poitiers, won by the Black Prince, quenched any hope entertained by the Scotch of further help from France (1357). They became more ready to enter into negotiations for the release of their king. David was set at liberty for a ransom of 100,000 marks, and a truce of ten years with Scotland set Edward free to pursue the French war without fear of distraction. But Scotland also had nothing more to fear from Edward III., even though secret negotiations were carried on for some time between him and David for the succession of an English prince to the throne of the childless king. From the time of the Peace of Bretigny (1360) the power of the English in France began to melt away. During the disastrous years which closed the reign of Edward III., and during the troubled reign of Richard II., there was no great change in the relations of England and Scotland. The dynasty of the Stuarts, in the person of Robert, the

High Steward of Scotland, son of a daughter of Robert Bruce, ascended the Scotch throne on the death of David II. (1370). As the English government refused Robert II. the title of king, the attitude of the two countries continued hostile, and raids were renewed from time to time. Berwick was twice taken by the Scotch, and retaken by the Percies, who became the heroes of the defence of the English border. But the Scotch were gradually recovering the territory still held by the English within their frontier. The league between France and Scotland was renewed (1385), and a joint invasion of England by Scotch and French troops excited the young King Richard to a counter invasion of Scotland with a powerful army, another bootless pursuit of an enemy whose policy was to elude battle. The rashness of Henry Percy (called Hotspur by the Scotch), who attacked at midnight a strongly-entrenched camp of invading Scotch at Otterburn, led to that memorable defeat of 8000 English by 3000 Scotch, which has been immortalized in the ballad of Chevy Chase (1388). England concluded a truce for three years with France and Scotland in 1389.

Henry IV. seizes James I. of Scotland.—This truce was prolonged till the accession of the Lancastrian dynasty. When it expired the Scotch made a raid across the Tweed, and overthrew Wark Castle (1400). Henry IV. marched into Scotland to enforce satisfaction for this inroad, but, misled by the defection of the Earl of March into supposing that he should find a large party in Scotland in his favour, he made the mistake of renewing the old claims of the English Crown to the homage of the Scotch kings. He advanced as far

as Leith, but had to return without fighting, and earned no other distinction than one which counted little in those days, that he had humanely protected the peasants from the horrors of war. The wretched Border warfare, which had caused such misery to both Countries for a hundred years, was renewed. But the Earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Percy, and the Scotch Earl of March, gave a signal defeat to the Scotch at Humbledon Hill, a battle in which the chief nobles of Scotland were either killed or taken prisoners (1402). This was not the only success of Henry's reign. The heir to the Crown of Scotland fell into his hands, being captured by an English ship as he was sailing to France to be educated (1405). As Robert III. died the next year, the young prince became James I. of Scotland. At the English court he received the best education that the age could give, and his singular intellectual gifts were developed for future use.

While James I. was a prisoner in England the battle of Harlaw was fought in Scotland, memorable as a great victory of the Teuton over the Kelt (1411). The Lord of the Isles had extended his power over Argyle and Ross; that is, nearly the whole Keltic part of Scotland. He was dangerous, not only from this extension of power, but because he had so frequently been the ally of England. Henry IV. was accustomed to deal with him as a separate potentate. It became necessary therefore for the Lowland Scotch to fight out the question of supremacy with him. The battle of Harlaw gave the victory to the Anglian race, and was long remembered in Scotland as a national deliverance.

The Scotch fight the English in France.—Henry V. made no effort to use the captivity of James I. to his

own advantage. His mind was fixed on the conquest of France, and he tacitly abandoned the claims of the Plantagenets on Scotland by giving the captive the title of king of Scots. During his captivity James's uncle, the Duke of Albany, governed Scotland. The relations between the two countries were in the main peaceable, but the Scotch went on pressing the English out from the strongholds which they had held ever since Edward III.'s expedition in 1355. Jedburgh Castle, Fast Castle, and the town (but not the castle) of Roxburgh were thus recovered. For many years a half-witted pretender, Thomas Ward, who claimed to be King Richard II., had been maintained by the government of Scotland; and shortly after Henry V.'s expedition into France, he had reason to fear that intrigues were going on between France and Scotland to bring this pretender into England. An ineffectual attempt was made by the Scotch to seize Roxburgh Castle and Berwick; the bootless expedition received the name of the Fool-raid. The Scotch resentment against England found an outlet in helping the French to resist the English invasion. About 7,000 Scotchmen, under the Earl of Buchan and Lord Stuart of Darnley, served among the troops of the Dauphin, and it was through their prowess that the Duke of Clarence was defeated and slain at Beaugé (1421). The Dauphin highly valued his Scotch troops, and their leaders were rewarded with estates in France. The Douglas received the dukedom of Touraine, and the title of royal lieutenant.

Release of James I., 1424.—It was to put a stop to this Scotch assistance to France that the Duke of Bedford, who succeeded to the conduct of the French

war on the death of Henry V., caused negotiations to be entered into for the release of James I. A truce for seven years was concluded with Scotland, and the young king returned to his native land after eighteen years' stay in England, during which time he had been in constant intercourse with the English royal family, had accompanied Henry V. to the Continent, and had finally allied himself to the House of Lancaster by marrying Jane Beaufort, cousin of the king. But, in spite of all this, James was unable to resist the attraction of the French alliance. He betrothed his infant daughter to the Dauphin's son. Instead of a dowry, 6000 Scotch were sent to France; and the Scotch king was invested with the lordships of Saintonge and Rochefort (1428).

The English government in France was now hastening to its fall. The Maid of Orleans raised the down-trodden flag of France (1429), and the day of English conquest was over. An eager diplomatic contest took place between the two countries for the Scotch alliance; it is even said that the English offered to surrender Roxburgh and Berwick. But Charles VII. won the day. The Scotch princess was safely conveyed to France and espoused to the Dauphin, in spite of the attempts of the English to intercept her; and James, who knew that by the death of the Duke of Bedford the English had lost their only capable leader, appeared before Roxburgh and laid siege to the castle without any declaration of war (1436).

The fall of Roxburgh was only prevented by the internal discords of Scotland. James I. was one of the ablest sovereigns that Scotland ever had, and from the time of his return to his country he had occupied

himself in political and legal reforms. Amongst other things he had deprived the Lord of the Isles of his independent sovereignty. In a country where the Crown had never been able to guarantee its own authority against the lawlessness of the feudal aristocracy, great reforms could not be carried out without raising a party against the king; and it was probably the news of some conspiracy formed against him which led James to break up the siege of Roxburgh as unexpectedly as he had begun it. A few months later he was murdered at Perth by some of the discontented nobles, at the head of a party of Highlanders. He was succeeded by a child of six years old, during whose minority Scotland was absorbed in the quarrels of rival nobles, and peace was made with England, to last till 1447. When James II. came to manhood he was fully occupied by a struggle with the house of Douglas, whose power had grown to such an extent as to threaten the Crown. He murdered the head of the Douglasses with his own hand (1452), and a civil war followed. The brother and heir of Douglas was defeated in the battle of Arkinholme, and took refuge in England.

Scotland's part in the Wars of the Roses.—The defeat of the house of Douglas brought a fresh accession of power to the crown of Scotland. The thoughts of the victorious king turned to the recovery of Roxburgh Castle and the town of Berwick. The opportunity was specially favourable; for England was now passing through that bloody valley of humiliation which avenged the glories of Henry V.'s conquests. Henry's marriage with the daughter of Charles VI. brought insanity into the royal house of

England, and plunged the country into the Wars of the Roses. Energetic measures were taken for increasing the military strength of Scotland, and especially to provide her with artillery. But his Lancastrian descent by his mother was a link which still bound James II. to the house of Lancaster; and Margaret of Anjou, the only strong soul who was struggling to uphold the tottering throne of Henry VI., was ready to make any sacrifice for the Scotch alliance. It is said that a treaty was actually signed between the kings of England and Scotland, in which Henry agreed to make over the three northern counties to James, as his by ancient right! When Henry and Margaret were defeated in the battle of Northampton, James set about enforcing this treaty himself by laying siege to Roxburgh Castle. He was killed there by the accidental bursting of a gun, but the castle was taken by the Scotch (1460). Nothing now remained to the English in Scotland but Berwick.

Margaret's sacrifices for the Scotch alliance were the ruin of the Lancastrian cause. She did not in the least understand English national feeling, and when she took refuge with Henry in Scotland, after the disastrous battle of Towton, she had no scruple in surrendering Berwick to the Scotch, nor even in offering them Carlisle. The Scotch troops whom she employed in her armies were said to plunder and harry worse than Turks, and she was unable to restrain the lawlessness of these and other northern followers. Edward IV. was received by the country as the restorer of order as well as the vindicator of the national honour.

Edward IV. treats with the Lord of the Isles.—To counteract the support which the exiled sovereigns

were receiving in Scotland, Edward, very soon after his accession, entered into a secret treaty with that Highland magnate, the Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, and with the exiled Earl of Douglas, by which a partition of Scotland was covenanted between them, the Highland chieftain to be sovereign to the north, and Douglas to the south, of the Forth, but both to be liege men of King Edward. The only immediate consequence of this was a great Highland raid; but thirteen years later, when the secret treaty came to light, it was made use of to cripple finally the power of the Keltic potentate. John of the Isles was summoned before the Scotch Parliament for treason, and though the government was not strong enough to execute him, it took from him his earldom of Ross, which was henceforth vested in the royal family. (1476.)

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, recovers Berwick, 1482.—Edward IV. succeeded in detaching the Scotch from the Lancastrian alliance, and made a truce with them for fifteen years, which was afterwards extended to fifty-five years. A matrimonial alliance was projected between the two kingdoms, Edward's daughter Cecilia being promised to the eldest son of James III., with a dowry of 20,000 marks, to be paid in instalments, which began from that date (1474). Thus Edward's policy toward Scotland appeared to be one of peace; but he had not forgotten the surrender of Berwick, nor the old claims of English supremacy. When James's brother, the Duke of Albany, had to flee from Scotland in consequence of a discovered conspiracy, Edward, who was dissatisfied that the marriage between his daughter

and James's heir had not yet taken place, entered into a treaty with him, by which Albany engaged to do him homage for the crown of Scotland. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was sent with an army of 25,000 men to Scotland, while James's arm was paralysed by intrigues amongst his nobles, who hung up the king's favourites before his eyes, and brought him as a prisoner to Edinburgh. Albany reaped no fruit from his plots; but Richard recovered Berwick, and Edward had to be satisfied with this success and the repayment of his daughter's dower. His own death in the following year hindered his further schemes.

It must have been no small addition to Richard's prestige, when he seized the English crown, that he was the recoverer of Berwick. He further vindicated the superiority of England by strengthening the fleet and maintaining the upper hand over the Scotch at sea. The Duke of Albany and the exiled Earl of Douglas having been defeated in Scotland, Richard abandoned their alliance, and made a truce of three years with James III. It was arranged that James's son should marry Richard's niece; but the marriage never took place, for Richard perished on the field of Bosworth in the course of the next year (1485).

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTLAND AND THE TWO FIRST TUDORS.

England and Scotland involved in European Politics, 1485.—The relations of England and Scotland began a new phase with the reign of Henry VII., because both countries became players in the great political game which now absorbed the energies of Europe, and which began when Spain appeared in the field as a rival with France for the possession of Italy. The houses of Spain, Austria, and Burgundy became united by the marriage of the son of the Emperor Maximilian to the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon. France had now to gird herself to the struggle with two powerful neighbours. The English alliance became of the utmost importance to both parties, while the alliance of Scotland was courted by whichever power England abandoned, as a means of annoying England. Thus both England and Scotland obtained an influence in the politics of Europe quite disproportionate to their real greatness at that time; for the wars of the Roses had blotted England out of the list of first-class powers, and Scotland was only a smaller and poorer England, with an Ireland on her own shores instead of across the Channel.

Scotland supports Perkin Warbeck.—The policy

of peace which Henry VII. pursued promoted the true interests of both countries. Though we are far from seeing the end of the hostile relations between them, we see the beginning of the end. Henry was in the midst of negotiations with James III. for a lasting peace, when the Scotch king perished miserably in a civil war with his unruly nobles, who accused him of intending to sacrifice the dignity of the Scotch crown for the sake of the English alliance (1488). The favourites of the fallen king became the spies of Henry VII., through whom he kept up a web of secret intrigue in Scotland, while outwardly the truces were continued with James IV., who had succeeded his father, not without some stain of complicity in the rebellion against him. To both kings each other's alliance was necessary, but neither could trust the other; and in 1494 James openly took a hostile attitude by receiving at his court Perkin Warbeck, the pretended heir of the house of York, and refusing the marriage proposed by Henry with his daughter Margaret. There seems to be little doubt that James really believed Perkin to be Richard of York, son of Edward IV.; he gave him his own cousin, the daughter of the Earl of Huntly, in marriage, and admitted him to his most intimate friendship. Hoping to recover Berwick as well as other material advantages by placing Perkin on the English throne, the Scotch king made every possible sacrifice, even to coining his own plate and jewellery, to raise an army for this end. They crossed the Border together in 1496; but the Scotch nobility were jealous of the adventurer, and looked coldly on his cause, and Henry had active agents among them. The expedition

ended in a cruel raid in Northumberland, in which Perkin won true glory by saying that he had rather renounce the crown than win it at such a price. After retreating from this melancholy affair, the zeal of the king of Scotland for his "cousin of York" began visibly to cool, and Perkin received an honourable dismissal from Scotland.

Peace of Stirling, 1499.—Not long after this, after James had made another fruitless raid into England, which was amply avenged by an invasion of Scotland by the Earl of Surrey, negotiations were entered into for that treaty which eventually brought about the union of England and Scotland. For the first time we find Spain an important actor in English affairs. Ferdinand of Aragon had just formed the league with the Pope and the Emperor against France; he was extremely desirous to draw Henry into it, and knew that the alliance of England was of little worth unless there was assured peace between England and Scotland. The Spanish ambassador acted as mediator between Henry and James, to bring about a marriage between Henry's little daughter Margaret and the Scotch king. But it was not until Henry's diplomacy had succeeded in completely detaching Louis XII. of France from the Scotch alliance that he was able to induce James to offer himself as a suitor for the little girl's hand. James's heart was elsewhere, and he postponed the marriage as long as possible, so that it was not till 1503 that it was actually concluded. It is said that when it was objected to Henry VII. that this marriage might some day place a Scotch king on the English throne, the wise king answered, "Scotland will come to England, for the lesser goes after the

greater." A peace for all time between Scotland and England was part of the marriage treaty; each king promised to give no help to rebels against the other; and the Scotch renounced all further claims upon Berwick, an important concession to the English crown. The alliance between Scotland and France seemed now at end; but Henry vainly tried to obtain from James a formal renunciation of it; James claimed it to be a right of his crown which he could not give up.

The everlasting peace thus concluded lasted for the rest of Henry VII.'s reign. James IV. was occupied by fresh attempts to extend the authority of the Scotch crown over the Highlands and Isles, which resulted in the abolition of the old Keltic lordship of the Isles. The houses of Campbell and Gordon (Earls of Argyle and Huntly) acquired supreme power in the Highland regions, but a power more dependent on the king than that of the original Keltic chieftains. After the execution of Perkin Warbeck (1499), and the conclusion of the Scotch alliance (1503), the throne of Henry VII. became for the first time secure. He was not without ambition, and he was preparing to enter personally into the game of European politics when death carried him off (1509). The young king of Scotland had the same ambition. James IV. was highly educated, a superior linguist, and accomplished in all chivalric exercises. There was a growing irritation between the two countries, caused by naval jealousy. The commerce and navy of England and Scotland were both expanding; but the development which the heroic spirit of that age took was often in a direction which we should now call piracy,

and it is not surprising that each nation accused the other of that crime. Thus the Scotch captain, Sir Andrew Wood, swept the Forth of English pirates, defeating and taking prisoner a famous English captain named Stephen Bull. Another Scotch commander, Barton, was attacked as a pirate by English ships, and slain in the Downs.

Battle of Flodden, 1513.—Such was the state of things when Henry VIII. ascended the English throne. Young, vigorous, and ambitious, he found himself the master of great wealth and of a spirited people. He aspired to win for England a leading place in the politics of Europe, and in Thomas Wolsey, the man who before long became his chief adviser, he had a servant whose ambition was to make his master greater even than the Emperor. Henry's ambition sought the old field of glory in war with France. The Holy League, formed by Pope Julius II. to drive the French out of Italy, offered Henry a good opportunity of invading France. The French now eagerly sought the alliance of Scotland, and offered to pay all James IV.'s expenses if he would invade England. James was bound by treaty not to make war on the king of England, but to submit all disputes between the two nations to arbiters. But the temptation was too great for him. He wrote to the Pope to obtain a release from the treaty, but not being able to get it, he resolved to do without it. While Henry was absent in France he crossed the Border, and razed the castle of Norham to the ground. Katharine of Aragon, who was regent during the king's absence, threw herself with eagerness into the task of inspiring the defenders of the country. Such forces as

could be gathered were hastily sent against the Scotch, under the leadership of the Earl of Surrey. They inflicted on the Scotch the famous defeat of Flodden Field, where James IV. perished, a victim to his insane chivalric vanity, which led him to seek the most exposed part of the field in which to distinguish himself by feats of arms. The slaughter of the Scotch nobility was so great that there was scarcely any leading family in Scotland which did not lose a member that day.

Fortune favoured Henry on every side. In France he won the battle of Guinegate, and took the important cities of Terouenne and Tournay. These triumphs at once altered the position of England in Europe, raising her to the rank of a first-class power; and it might have been expected that Henry would take the opportunity offered by the death of James IV., and the minority of his son James V., to interfere with a strong hand in the affairs of Scotland. But Henry always respected the letter of his plighted word; and he was bound by the treaty of Orleans (made with Louis XII. after the fall of Tournay), in which Scotland was included, to keep the peace with Scotland. He therefore contented himself with secret intrigues to prevent French influence in Scotland.

Relations of England and Scotland at this time.—England and Scotland were never further apart than they were in Henry VIII.'s reign. Forgetful of their common origin, they regarded each other with the most intense and bitter hatred. There was little intercourse or trade between them. Passports were necessary to travel from one country to the other, and the journey across the Border was very dangerous.

Mutual ignorance increased mutual hatred; but that hatred was further envenomed by the Scotch alliance with France. England had to fight France in Scotland. It was galling to her pride to find the cause of her old enemy upheld by a nation of her own language, whom she could scarcely bring herself to regard in any other light than that of an upstart dependent. Endless feuds had created a waste many miles broad along the whole Border, from Berwick to Carlisle. On either side of this waste dwelt the Borderers, a race of thieves and murderers, whose wild, romantic life, however much it may lend itself to poetic treatment, was a survival of barbarism, odious even to that barbarous age.

In this wild country Thomas Lord Dacre administered Henry's government, as Warden of the East and West Marches. It was his task to attend to the defence of the Border, to conduct the diplomatic business between England and Scotland (for no regular English envoy resided in Scotland), and in time of hostilities to organize "warden raids" into Scotland to keep the country in "cumber and business." His position was so important, and so much power was thrown into his hands by the necessarily slow communication with the central government, that he might almost have been called the minister of the Scottish Border. But he was absolutely dependent on the king and Wolsey, and his letters show that he lived in dread of not being thought to fulfil his work well enough. He was an iron man, ruthless and violent, but he could be cunning as well as resolute, and perfectly entered into the Macchiavellian policy which was dictated from the court.

Second Marriage of Margaret Tudor.—Any chance which Henry might have had of governing Scotland through his sister Margaret, widow of James IV., was lost through her marriage with the Earl of Angus. She had been appointed Regent by the Estates, but “her excessive weakness and marvellous mind upon her apparel” had already shown her unfitness for the post, and her second marriage lost her all influence with the Scotch nobles, who were nearly all rivals of the powerful family of Douglas, to which Angus belonged. The Estates of Scotland sent to France for the Duke of Albany, son of James III.’s brother, who had been brought up in France; he came to Scotland and took the office of the regency (1515). A struggle at once began between him and Margaret for the possession of the royal children. Margaret was worsted, and fled into England.

Regency of Albany, 1515-1524.—Though the French party, of which the Duke of Albany was the head, was now supreme in Scotland, that supremacy was far from satisfactory to the greater part of the Scotch nobility. The condition of Scotland was at that time deplorable. The families of Douglas and Hamilton split up the nation into feuds by their rivalry. The Scotch nobility were uncultured, violent, and barbarous, and though their only bond of union was hatred to England, many of them were not unwilling to accept the bribes of Henry VIII., and become his secret agents. A temporary absence of the Duke of Albany seemed to offer an opportunity for English influence. Margaret returned to Scotland; but she was but a feeble tool, which often broke in Henry’s hand. While he was doing his utmost by

his envoys in France to prevent the return of Albany to Scotland, she annoyed him by going over to the party of Albany, whose ecclesiastical influence she now desired in order to obtain a divorce from her second husband, who was faithless and brutal. By a secret article of the Treaty of London (1518) France had promised that Albany should not return to Scotland during the minority of James V. But in 1521 Henry, who had already made a secret alliance with the young Emperor Charles V., was on the eve of war with France, and it was rumoured that Albany was coming back to Scotland with Richard de la Pole, a scion of the house of York, and that Scotland was going to play the part she had played in the days of Perkin Warbeck. In spite of Henry's watchfulness Albany returned to Scotland. In vain did Henry write a bullying letter to the Estates of Scotland, coarsely insinuating that his sister was seeking to marry Albany, and threatening them with war if they did not drive Albany forth. They sent a dignified and firm refusal, and the lords of Parliament told Henry's herald that they would live and die with Albany, though Henry, the king of France, and the Emperor, should be against them.

War was declared between England and France in 1522, and Scotland prepared to second her ally. France sent help, and the Duke of Albany advanced towards the Border with 80,000 men. But the invasion was staved off by the audacious cleverness of Dacre, who, well aware that Carlisle was defenceless, and that Albany would have been master of the situation had he boldly pushed forward, contrived to delude him into accepting a truce for one month. Dacre had no

authority to make this truce, and he chuckled mightily over the folly of the Scotch in accepting it and disbanding their army. The truce was prolonged from month to month; but as soon as Wolsey could induce the Emperor to join in a year's truce with France, in which Scotland was not included, he prepared to carry out the threats of his master. The Earl of Surrey, son of the victor of Flodden, was sent to burn and lay waste the Scotch Border, to create a desert between Scotland and England, which should prevent further danger from the northern country (1523). "All Teviotdale and the Merse have been so destroyed," writes Wolsey, "that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, castle, corn, or other succour for man;" and Dacre exults that 1000 men will now be able to hold the Borders. Margaret alone remarked that her brother only lost the hearts of the poor of Scotland by such barbarities. The Scotch resisted Surrey's invasion with an indomitable courage which made no small impression upon him, and it perhaps had something to do in preventing him from advancing upon Edinburgh, as Margaret urged him to do. But he also had no means of provisioning his army. The central authority, as usual, having other ambitions, was content with simply dealing a hurtful stroke on Scotland, and then returned to the easier paths of malicious intrigue.

Albany, who had been again absent in France, returned again to Scotland soon after Surrey's invasion with a French force of 6000 men. Before the year was out he led an army of Scotch and French to the Border, and laid siege to Wark Castle. This time most anxious defensive preparation was made in England, though Wolsey prophesied that the invasion

could lead to nothing serious, when so short a time had been allowed for provisioning the Scotch army, and when the season was so late. The event justified his sagacity. Albany suddenly broke up the siege of Wark, after the repulse of a French storming party from the inner ward, and retreated hastily into Scotland. In spite of this second failure, he does not appear to have lost credit with the Scotch lords. They utterly distrusted the sister of Henry VIII., and she weakly oscillated from one party to the other; indeed, she writes with some pertinence to Henry, that as she has to live with these people, she must make herself agreeable to them. Albany left Scotland for good in 1524, but before his departure Margaret signed a deed promising to further a marriage between her son and one of the daughters of the king of France.

Erection of James V., 1524.—Albany having left Scotland, it became the object of the English court to further the *erection* of the young king; that is, his taking upon himself the government of his kingdom, as he was then thirteen years old. All that was intended was that he should be put under English instead of French tutelage; and the Earl of Angus, the exiled husband of Margaret Tudor, was to be the instrument of restoring English influence. Wolsey declared that the success of this matter would be as honourable and profitable to Henry as the conquest of a good portion of Scotland. Henry made liberal offers of money to the Scotch nobles; while to the king and his mother the prospect of a marriage with the Lady Mary was held out as a bait. The scheme was successfully carried out. The boy-king made a triumphal entry into Edinburgh, and the Estates of Scotland

decreed that Albany had lost his office of governor, and that the king should now use his own authority. Two English envoys were sent to reside at the Scotch court, to influence the queen and her son in the right direction. The revolution was vainly opposed by the Chancellor of Scotland, Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's. Efforts were made by Wolsey to entice him over the Border, and by a kind of honourable kidnapping to bring him into Henry's power. But Beaton was too wary, and it was not until he became convinced that he had more hope of obtaining a cardinal's hat through Wolsey than through anyone else that he entered into the English alliance.

Angus seizes the Government of Scotland, 1524–1528.—Before this, fresh difficulty arose through Margaret's resolute refusal to come to terms with her husband Angus. She was now in close alliance with the Earl of Arran, of whom the Duke of Norfolk said, "Whoever hath him best is no more sure of him than he that hath an eel by the tail." She was extremely unpopular, both for her assumption of all authority into her own hands, the utter disorder of the country, and her own immoral life. What angered Henry most was, that she would not send ambassadors into England to negotiate the perpetual peace which he wished to conclude between the two realms, and to check her power he permitted Angus to return to Scotland (1524). Angus made a forcible entry into Edinburgh, and as a large party in Scotland favoured him, the kingdom was brought to the verge of civil war. A temporary accommodation was made, and negotiations for a permanent peace with England were begun, the basis of which was to have been the

betrothal of Mary Tudor to James V. But Mary, who was then Henry's only legitimate child, was too valuable a card to be laid unreservedly on the board. She was already promised to the Emperor, and the offer of her to the king of Scots was not honest. The Scotch were perfectly well aware of this, and Margaret was receiving tempting offers from the French court, which she was quite ready to accept rather than to have Angus forced upon her as a husband.

The defeat of Francis I. at Pavia (1525) called forth a generous outburst of sympathy in Scotland for the ancient ally. The English envoy became so unpopular that he was believed to be the cause of storms and blight, and the women cursed him for it in the streets. But the battle of Pavia brought about a change in Henry's policy. He began to see that the Emperor was becoming too powerful; so, abandoning his alliance, he made a treaty with Francis (treaty of the More, 1525). When this alliance was known in Scotland it removed the difficulties in the way of a peace, which was signed in January, 1526.

English influence was now supreme in Scotland, and one circumstance which tended to keep it so was the fact that James V., being the eldest male grandchild of Henry VII., had a fair claim to succeed to the English throne, especially in the event of his marriage with Mary Tudor, an event rendered more likely by Henry's breach with the Emperor. The possibility of this succession was one of the baits which the English envoys had orders to dangle before James's eyes. The Scotch nobles and the queen were receiving pensions from Henry, who also paid for the maintenance of a bodyguard of 200 men for James.

Angus secured supreme authority for himself by deposing Beaton from the chancellorship, and getting himself chosen as one of the guardians of the young king, thus obtaining possession of his person (1526). He entered into alliance with the Earl of Arran, and kept James in virtual captivity. Henry VIII. approved this revolution, and it seems to have been now that he dismissed the Archbishop of St. Andrew's from his favour, because he took part against Angus, thereby securing a powerful enemy to English influence in Scotland. Beaton made his peace with Angus by heavy payments, and Angus, who had little wit, allowed him to return to court. The queen obtained from the Pope her divorce from her detested husband, and then in alliance with Beaton succeeded in emancipating her son from the tutelage of Angus, and effecting a complete overthrow of his power. He was attainted by Parliament on a charge of treason, and his lands bestowed on his enemies. Angus fled to England, where he was kindly received; and so much did Henry and Wolsey esteem his services that they were disposed to make his restoration to favour a condition of the new treaty for five years, which was concluded at Berwick in December, 1528; but the Scottish commissioners would not treat on this basis, so the condition had to be dropped.

English Ascendency in Scotland lost, 1528.—The two years of thralldom which James had endured at the hand of Angus had bred in him a vindictive hatred to his step-father which he never outgrew. It was extremely unfortunate that Henry and Wolsey had chosen Angus as the instrument of English influence in Scotland; for the hatred which James felt for

him had undoubtedly a powerful effect in alienating him from the English alliance, when he found his "dearest uncle" wholly bent on restoring Angus to his former position in Scotland. Henry and Wolsey were aware of the worthlessness of their tool, and only used him because they had no other. There was as yet nothing that could truly be called an English party in Scotland; the webs of selfishness which the English government spun out of bribes, broke as soon as any strain was put upon them.

The expulsion of Angus brought about a time of great anarchy in Scotland, as his partizans carried on a plundering warfare on his behalf; and the Borders, near which his large estates lay, were emboldened to break out in disorder, secretly encouraged by the English government. Perhaps Henry and Wolsey might have devised a wiser policy as regards Scotland if at this time their energies had not become completely absorbed in the great business of the divorce of Katharine of Aragon. Before long Henry broke with the Emperor, and declared war against him (1528). His daughter Mary was now promised to Francis I., or one of his sons. The Emperor thought it would be to his advantage to make an alliance with Scotland. To counteract this, Wolsey instructed his envoy to tell the Scotch that they need not yet despair of the Princess Mary. But surely in vain the net is spread in the eyes of any bird. The fall of Wolsey came in 1529; and though in a few years he was succeeded by a minister as able and even more despotic, yet the English ascendancy in Scotch affairs which Wolsey had brought about was not recovered.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTLAND, THE TUDORS, AND PROTESTANTISM.

Henry VIII.'s Breach with Rome.—England had now entered on a new path, which for many years was to separate her from Scotland more entirely than before. Events were leading to the great breach between England and Rome, which was consummated in 1534. It was to be expected that, when it came, Scotland would ally herself with the Catholic powers, and be more than ever hostile to England. In the meantime the effects of the divorce on the relations between England and Scotland were most important. Mary was no longer the heiress of the English crown, and no longer desirable as a match; while the illegitimacy, in the eyes of all Catholics, of the children of Anne Boleyn, opened a prospect for the king of Scotland as the only legitimate male descendant of the house of Tudor. This new hope bound the royal house of Scotland to Catholicism. James was now of age to act for himself, and the dangerous prospect opened that he would act as the champion of the papal power, and the rival of his uncle, in England. The uncle and nephew regarded each other with complete distrust. While James was promising that he would do nothing

without the advice of his dearest uncle; he was secretly negotiating with the Emperor for a marriage into his family. Henry repaid intrigue for intrigue by entering into communication with James's discontented subjects. His irritation was increased by hearing that the Emperor had given his secret approval to the assumption by James of the title of Prince of England, an assumption which touched Henry in his tenderest point. Angus and his friends never ceased to stimulate him to invade Scotland and restore them to power, and there were the usual Border disputes to serve as a pretext. James was unpopular with his own nobles, and the time was opportune for dealing him a blow which should discourage him from further intrigue.

Henry forces James to make Peace.—Henry took the advice which was offered him on many sides, and ordered the Earl of Northumberland to invade Scotland, to destroy, waste, and burn "to their most annoyance" (1532). Northumberland followed out his instructions literally; he penetrated sixteen miles within the Scotch Border, "leaving not one peel, gentleman's house, nor grange, unburnt." These raids were continued during the next year, and Angus and his brother assisted in them effectively. Meanwhile Scotch ships of war were holding all the English shipping in terror from the Humber northward. The object of the war was accomplished at last by the conclusion of a peace, which was to last for the rest of the two kings' lives (1534).

Henry was well aware that he had entered on a path of peril and isolation when he broke finally with the ancient nurse of Christendom, by passing the Act of Supremacy. He was most anxious to keep the

peace which he had wrung from Scotland, and his great object now in his dealings with his nephew was to bring him round to his side by a personal interview. Confident in his theological knowledge and his powers as a disputant, he had little doubt that he should be able to persuade the younger king of the great advantage it would be to himself to throw off the authority of the Pope and clergy, and to recruit his treasury from the wealth of the Church. The Garter was sent to James, who with all the expressions of an affectionate nephew confided to Henry his intention of treating for a marriage with some relative of the king of France, Henry's friend. But events followed their inevitable course. James was not without intellectual gifts, but his character was violent and vindictive. He had alienated his nobility by the rough measures he had taken to assert his authority over them, and he consequently was thrown back upon the clergy. They were more to his taste than the nobles, as their superior education made them more skilful instruments of his will, while their lax morality put him under no restraint. By their influence the intended meeting between Henry and James was constantly postponed. The Edinburgh friars were allowed to inveigh against Henry in their sermons, and the English envoy declared that he saw no hope of real friendship between England and Scotland except in the growth of a Protestant party.

James's French Marriages.—It does not appear that Henry offered any opposition to James's marriage with Francis's daughter, Magdalene, which took place in 1537; but the French princess died before she had been six weeks in Scotland. A second French

marriage was concluded next year, when James took to wife Mary, Duchess of Longueville, daughter of the celebrated Duke of Guise. The ambassador sent to negotiate this marriage, so important in the history of Scotland, was David Beaton, nephew of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was an able and resolute man, thoroughly devoted to the Roman church and the French alliance. On the death of his uncle he succeeded him as Archbishop of St. Andrews, having already been made a cardinal, and rose to the highest influence in Scotland.

James's Policy under Beaton's Guidance.—Under such guidance it was not likely that James would see eye to eye with Henry. The Scotch government was undoubtedly in sympathy with the English Catholic insurrections in 1536. On James's homeward voyage from France with his first bride he sent boats to the Yorkshire coast to buy provisions, and the opportunity was taken by many of the disaffected gentlemen of Yorkshire to board his ship, and enter into communication with him. James was much elated, and uttered words of foolish boasting. After his second marriage he allowed "mischievous and villainous rhymes against the king's majesty" to be freely circulated in Scotland. All this was reported to Henry, and created in his mind that most dangerous kind of irritation which is not unmixed with fear. For Henry's position was now always one of peril. A turn in the politics of Europe might at any time bring about a European coalition against him, in which Scotland might play a most dangerous part. It must be admitted that he showed commendable patience and policy in continuing for eight years to negotiate for an interview with his

nephew, knowing as he did that the Scotch clergy were actually exciting their king to war, under the fear that he might follow Henry's example in seizing the abbey lands. But the clerical party maintained their influence. James refused to give up a traitorous churchman whose extradition was demanded by Henry, and further irritated his uncle by assuming the title of Defender of the Christian Faith, which was equivalent to posing as the champion of Catholicism. The death of Margaret in the same year (1541) broke the last link between Henry and his nephew. James promised to meet his uncle at York in 1542, but Henry's patience was now giving way. His anxiety for an interview with his nephew was so great that he listened to a proposal for kidnapping James, and bringing him to England; but his Council dissuaded him from a plan so unworthy of his honour.

It was doubtless the change which had come about in European politics which commended to Henry this desperate plan for getting hold of his nephew. The Turks had wrested Hungary from the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, and Charles himself had been disastrously defeated by the Moors in an expedition against Algiers. The moment seemed favourable to Francis to recover his hold upon Italy; he entered into alliance with the Pope, and began war on the Emperor. Henry, who had been at peace with France since 1527, was now inclining to the imperial alliance. Thomas Cromwell had fallen, and with him his far-sighted project of a great Protestant alliance, which should hold both the Catholic sovereigns in check. Henry had never enjoyed his position of isolation from the rest of Christendom, and he hoped that the general Council

which the Emperor proposed might find a way to compose the religious differences of Europe. To neutralize the effects of an alliance between England and the empire, Francis sought to excite James V. to invade England. It is doubtful whether James knew of the suggestion to kidnap him, but he finally refused the promised interview at York. Henry, who had travelled to York to meet him, was highly indignant (1540). Both sides prepared for war, but Henry in his impatience ordered a raid into Scotland by Sir Robert Bowes, assisted by Angus and his brother, before the main body of the English army had time to assemble. They were defeated by the Scots at Halydon Rigg. The news of this skirmish was carried to France as a great Scotch victory, and drew forth insulting rejoicings from Francis, who said Henry now had God and the world against him.

Battle of Solway Moss, 1542.—Henry sent the Duke of Norfolk to Scotland with 20,000 men, and for nine days the Lothians were laid waste. Norfolk had to retire to the Border for lack of provisions, and in the meantime the king of Scots had gathered his army; but when his nobles heard of the withdrawal of the English troops, they refused to follow their king to the invasion of England. This position had been steadily taken up by the leading Scotch nobles ever since the battle of Flodden; they saw the folly of anything but a defensive policy on the part of Scotland. In spite of his anger, James had to retire sullenly to Edinburgh. But Beaton and the clergy furnished him with the means of raising another army, recruited from the tenants of the Church; and with projects of vengeance against his own nobles in

his mind, James again advanced to the Border. His ill-managed host was surprised by Lord Dacre at Solway Moss, just within the English boundary, and scattered in sudden panic. The defeat was more than James' proud spirit could brook. He died three weeks afterwards, shortly after hearing the news of the birth of his daughter, whose tragic life was to expiate the policy which he had adopted.

Beaton recovers his Supremacy.—This complete victory seemed to make the way clear for the restoration of English ascendancy in Scotland, and Henry hastened to take advantage of it by proposing a treaty of alliance between England and Scotland, and the marriage of his son Edward with the infant Mary. The Earl of Angus returned to Scotland, and his estates were restored to him. Through him, and through the nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss, and released on parole, Henry hoped to have a party in Scotland which he could count upon. The character of the Earl of Arran, who was made Regent, was so weak and variable as to seem to offer an easy subject for the influence of Henry's ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler. But Henry had not calculated on the strength of the Scotch national animosity. It was a sentimental hatred, and before sentimental hatreds diplomacy and force are alike powerless. The lords whom Henry had sought to bribe to his party found themselves swept away by the vehemence of the national hatred of England. The treaties of peace and marriage were assented to by the Scotch ambassadors in London. Their terms were most moderate; they contained ample provision for the independence of Scotland, but two things in them were intolerable to the Scotch.

The first was that the clause in the old treaties, which left Scotland free to attack England in case of war between England and France, was not retained; the second, that Mary was to be educated in England after she was ten years old; a provision which awakened the old distrust felt in Henry. An opportunity thus opened for Mary of Guise and the other friends of France, who had long been dissembling with Henry, to assert their policy. Beaton, who had been foiled in an attempt to obtain the regency, and imprisoned for a time, recovered his liberty, carried off the queen mother and her child to Stirling, and crowned the infant Mary. The weak-minded Regent became a tool in the hands of Beaton; and after a formal ratification of the treaties, repudiated them, and openly went over to the Cardinal's party, recanting his Protestant opinions (1543).

Henry's Revenge.—The victory of Beaton was the victory of Catholicism, and overthrew the hopes which Henry had built on the rise of a Protestant party in Scotland. Great was his wrath, and he would have invaded Scotland at once, but that the season of the year compelled him to defer it. Meanwhile the Earl of Angus and other lords of the so-called English party, who had all along been receiving Henry's money without doing him any service for it, entered into a secret bond with the Regent "for the resisting of our auld enemies of England." It is difficult to tell whom Angus betrayed most, so ambiguous was his conduct; but it is certain that he was powerless to resist the universal current of hatred to England, in which he found himself involved after his return to Scotland. He seems to have bent to the

stream, and meanwhile to have tried to earn Henry's money by sending him small pieces of information from time to time. It is certain that he suggested the plan of attack on Scotland which was actually followed by Henry next year (1544). The new English navy, which had been one of the creations of Cromwell, was made the instrument of Henry's vengeance. Lord Hertford, brother of Queen Jane Seymour (more famous afterwards as the Protector Somerset) was sent by sea to Leith with a body of troops. Leith and Edinburgh were sacked and burned, and Hertford proceeded by land towards the Border, inflicting all the destruction he could on his way. As Angus had been unable to bring himself to act against his country, vengeance was taken on him by breaking the tombs of his forefathers at Melrose Abbey. The detachment of English sent for this work was defeated by the Scotch at Ancrum Moor.

After this blow had been struck Henry reopened negotiations with the Regent and Mary of Guise for the peace and marriage; but Mary and Beaton were now the real managers of affairs, and Henry's agent reported to him that their only intention in listening to negotiations was to gain time. Meanwhile serious reports reached Henry that the French king was sending a large force to Scotland, that the Emperor and Cardinal Pole were in secret communication with the Scotch government, and that an invasion of England was to be expected. Henry ordered an army of 30,000 men to be raised in the North, supplemented with mercenaries from abroad, and entered into an alliance with the Lord of the Isles, chief of the Keltic tribes of Scotland, who with his barons took

the oath of allegiance to the king of England. It is curious to see how strong was still the flame of this truly national hatred when we read this chieftain declaring that "we men of the wild isles have been old enemies to the kingdom of Scotland." Hertford, who commanded the army on the Border, remained on the defensive till September, 1545; and then when the united French and Scotch invasion had come to nothing, as such invasions always did, and when the Scotch army had dispersed, he inflicted another grievous raid on Scotland, "for the due correction and punishment of the notable falsehood, untruth, and most dishonourable proceedings and injuries attempted by the Scots against your majesty." The English army contained a motley host of mercenaries from all countries, and its ravages and cruelties exceeded those of former expeditions. Seven monasteries and 243 villages were destroyed besides castles and homesteads.

We must deplore these brutal ravages, and the increase of bitterness between England and Scotland which they naturally caused; but we must remember that Henry had exhausted all means of conciliation, that he was in a position of great danger, at war with France, and deserted (in 1545) by his ally the Emperor. In such extremity a man of naturally violent character strikes out heavily and ruthlessly; and it was the cruelty of fear which dealt these blows on Scotland by the hand of Hertford.

Peace of Bouloigne, 1546.—Though no conquest of Scotland was intended by Henry, the result of these invasions was to leave a good deal of Scotch territory in his hands. The gentlemen of the Merse and

Teviotdale, and many of Lothian, sued to be received as his subjects, and he gained a new and important ally in the Earl of Lennox. The Scotch were growing weary of the French, and the English were so manifestly gaining the upper hand that the Douglasses thought it worth while to renew their offers of service. It was indeed a time of triumph for England. Alone against Europe, she had been able to defy the French king, the Emperor, and the Pope. Peace was signed with France in 1546, and Scotland was included in it.

Murder of Cardinal Beaton.—Perhaps if Henry had waited, the progress of events would have brought Scotland round to him. Cardinal Beaton was doing a great work as an educator of the Protestant party. Successful only for a time in his policy of binding Scotland to France and the Holy See, his great success and service to his country was that by the cruel discipline of the stake, the gallows, and the dungeon he raised up in Scotland a Protestant party worthy of Scotland and Protestantism. But there were still elements in that party in whom the old violence of the Scotch character was predominant, and Henry enlisted these to do his work. At the time of Hertford's first campaign in Scotland he had given his secret sanction to a plot for murdering Beaton, and in May, 1546, it was successfully carried out. The Cardinal was slain in his own castle of St. Andrew's by three Scotchmen of rank, who were friends of Henry VIII. His body was hung over the walls, and the conspirators took possession of the castle, and defended it for some time against the attacks of the regent.

Henry did not shrink from supporting those who

had done him such signal service. The death of the Cardinal paralyzed for a time the French faction in Scotland. Ambassadors were sent to England to begin again the negotiation for the marriage of Mary and Edward, and Henry insisted that they should use their influence with the Regent to induce him to desist from the siege of St. Andrew's. He sent such effectual help to the garrison, that the Regent, finding himself powerless to take the castle, made a compact with the besieged that he would send to Rome for their pardon. When the pardon arrived, it was so ambiguously worded that the besieged refused to surrender. The Regent had, therefore, to send to France for help. Meanwhile the Protestant party flocked to the castle for the free exercise of their religion.

Somerset alienates Scotland.—But, as if to prove that the union of the two realms was not to be wrought out of deeds of violence like the murder of Beaton, death cut short Henry's schemes just when they seemed nearing fulfilment, and his death broke off the negotiations for the treaty. Hertford, who became Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, began the series of mistakes which marked his foreign policy by neglecting to relieve the castle of St. Andrew's, and it was obliged to surrender to a force sent from France. The small party which favoured England was thus utterly discouraged. When it was too late to retrieve this error Somerset marched into Scotland, and, as usual, all parties joined to resist the English. At Pinkie he inflicted a bloody defeat on the Scotch, which only served to rekindle the old hatred in all its fierceness (1547). There was no longer any hope of a marriage between Edward and Mary. The Scotch sent to

France for help, and offered Mary to the Dauphin. A fresh invasion of Scotland, under Lord Grey, took place in 1548. The Earl of Lennox, who was still acting as the ally of the English, had brought the greater part of Galloway to submission, and several important strongholds remained in the hands of the English since Somerset's last invasion. A force of 6000 French troops, led by D'Essy, landed at Leith. The struggle between the French and English centred at Haddington. At the Convention of Haddington the Scotch decided to send the young queen to France to be betrothed to the Dauphin, and to unite for ever the crowns of Scotland and France.

Mary was sent to France forthwith, and the war was continued with great fury and barbarity. The patriotism of the country people recovered Hume and Fast Castles from the English. An English force which landed in Fife was manfully repulsed by James Stuart, the queen's illegitimate brother. The Earl of Shrewsbury entering Scotland with a large army, the siege of Haddington was raised. The French, retreating on Edinburgh, came into bloody collision with the citizens of that town, and D'Essy thought to undo the effects of this unlucky accident by surprising Haddington. The attempt was all but successful; but it was repulsed after three repeated assaults, and the French had to bear the rejoicings of the Scotch over their defeat. But England was soon involved in war with France, and Somerset was nearing his fall. The garrison of Haddington, hopeless of relief from England, burnt the town and marched away into England (1549). The last English garrison which remained in Scotland was just about to surrender when news came

of the peace between England and France, concluded by the government of Warwick (1550).

Mary of Guise made Regent, 1554.—This peace was as pernicious to Scotland as war, owing to the cruelty and avarice of the Regent. The discredit which Arran thus incurred enabled Mary of Guise to accomplish at last the object which she had been aiming at for eight years. Arran was induced to resign the regency, being made Duke of Chatelherault and pensioned by France, and Mary became Regent in his stead.

John Knox.—The triumph of France in Scotland seemed complete; yet in the very galleys which brought the French troops to Scotland in 1548, there was a prisoner working at the oar who was to undo all the work of the Convention of Haddington. No one man did more for the union of England and Scotland than John Knox. In a dark and selfish age, when the nobles of Scotland were scarcely ashamed of their own baseness, he arose to lead the Scotch nation to the pursuit of an ideal aim, nobler even than the love of country. He was a man of boundless faith, tender at heart, iron of will, and overflowing with humour, sometimes of a grim sort. That he had not the faintest idea of religious toleration, and that he looked kindly on Lynch law for powerful offenders, is only to say that he was the child of his age. But he was leader of his age by his clear perception that rulers hold their office for the sake of the governed, and that when they rule badly it is lawful to resist them, and by the practical sagacity which seldom failed to give him right insight into character and true foresight of events.

Protestantism firmly established in Scotland.—The election of Mary of Guise to the Scotch regency followed not long after the elevation of Mary Tudor to the English throne. Thus both countries were ruled by Catholics, and the cause of the Reformation seemed more imperilled than ever. But this danger was neutralized by the strange complication of European politics. The rivalry between France and Spain rendered cordial action impossible between Mary of Guise and the wife of Philip of Spain. Moreover the faction of the Hamiltons (Arran's family) was still dangerous; and to counterbalance their power, Mary allowed the Scotch Protestants a freedom from persecution which they had not enjoyed since Arran changed his faith. John Knox returned to Scotland (1555), and travelled about the country preaching the new doctrines. Everywhere he found "a marvellous thirst for the Word." The Protestant Church took root, and began to organize itself. Among the nominal converts to Protestantism at this time were Lord James Stuart and Maitland, Laird of Lethington—two men destined to play an important part afterwards. The clergy, unsupported by the regent, were powerless to lay hands upon Knox; but he judged it prudent to withdraw to the Continent for a time, after he had seen the Reformation firmly planted in Scotland.

When Philip of Spain dragged England into war with France, the French king summoned Scotland to be true to her alliance by making war on England (1557). But all the eloquence of the regent Mary could not induce the Scotch nobility to invade England. The French commander, D'Oyssel, was

even ordered by the council to bring back some ordnance which he had carried across the Tweed. A predatory warfare was carried on for two seasons on the Border, which left the English Border in a ruinous condition at Elizabeth's accession.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND UNITED BY PROTESTANTISM.

Mary of Guise provokes a Protestant Revolution in Scotland, 1559.—The peace of Château Cambrésis, concluded between France and Spain four months after Elizabeth's accession, gave a complete turn to the tide of affairs. France and Spain were both set free to direct their energies to the suppression of the Reformation; and it was no longer necessary for the Regent of Scotland to dissemble towards the Protestants. The French court had eagerly embraced a scheme in which sectarianism and ambition met. There was only a woman on the English throne, and she, in the eyes of all who held the divorce between Henry VIII. and Katharine to have been unlawful, was illegitimate. The rightful heir to the crown was Mary Stuart, now the wife of Henry II.'s son and heir, the Dauphin Francis. Henry adopted as his policy the championship of Catholicism. The Dauphin and Dauphiness openly assumed the arms of England; and Mary of Guise, throwing off the mask which she had worn as long as she needed the help of the Protestants, issued a proclamation ordering Easter to be observed in the Catholic manner.

But it was too late to turn back the tide. The immediate effect of the Regent's attempt to put down Protestantism was an uprising of the people, which in a few months overthrew Catholicism all over the Lowlands. John Knox came back to Scotland just in time to be the leading spirit of this Protestant revolution. The glory of this movement is that it was essentially the work of the people. Its noblest side is seen in John Knox, the defender of the liberties of the people, the champion of eternal right against force and guile in high places. But if Knox fought for an ideal, the nobles who fought with him fought chiefly for pelf, for the plunder of the Church. The people were not strong enough for the burden of so great a cause; and from the first the Scotch reformers looked to England for help. Knox, who in travelling through France had learned the full extent of the French plots, was the steady friend of alliance, if not union, between England and Scotland. The cherished plan of the Lords of the Congregation (as the leading nobles of the reforming party were called) was to unite the crowns of England and Scotland by a marriage between the Earl of Arran (son of the Duke of Châtelherault), who after Mary Stuart was the next heir to the Scottish crown, and Elizabeth. Were the whole island thus united, they felt confident that it would be able to defy both France and Spain; but they had little hope of being successful single-handed in the struggle with the power of France, which they were well aware lay before them. In August the Protestants, who had held Edinburgh since June, were obliged to conclude a treaty with the Regent, abandoning Edinburgh. Their forces had so

dwindled that they were afraid to hold the field against her French troops, and she was expecting further reinforcements. The Lords of the Congregation urgently sought help from England.

Elizabeth helps the Protestant Movement.—Elizabeth, by the advice of Cecil, had encouraged the Scotch revolution from the beginning, but with extreme secrecy. There were many reasons which made her most reluctant to aid it openly. She had little sympathy with the Genevan doctrines which were approved in Scotland. She disliked Knox for a book he had published in Mary's reign against the government of women; she instinctively dreaded openly encouraging subjects to rise against their sovereigns; and after she had seen Arran she renounced all thought of marriage with him, discerning him to be of weak intellect. Moreover, England was in a state of extreme weakness at her accession—the fortresses in ruins, the navy scattered, the treasury empty, and she had reason to suspect that two-thirds of her people were disaffected. It was scarcely the moment to fly in the face of France by supporting Calvinist rebels in Scotland. Yet Cecil and Knox foresaw with equal clearness that the overthrow of the Protestants in Scotland would be the prelude to the overthrow of Elizabeth herself. In spite of her hesitation and reluctance therefore Elizabeth did help the Scotch revolution, though her help was confined at first to sending money secretly. Though she would not marry the Earl of Arran, she sent him back to Scotland with more money for the cause. By his influence his father, the Duke of Châtelherault, was brought round again to the Protestant side. The scattered Protestants rallied together.

The Regent had lately received a reinforcement of 1000 French mercenaries, with whose help she was fortifying Leith. The Protestant nobles met at Stirling, and sent a petition to the regent, demanding that the fortifications of Leith should be destroyed. This petition was repeated more imperatively a month later, when the Protestant nobles entered Edinburgh, and as it was haughtily rejected a parliament of nobles and commons, in the name of the king and queen, solemnly suspended the Regent from her office. A council of the leading Protestant nobles, with four ministers to advise them, was chosen to carry on the government.

The next step in the revolutionary movement should have been the siege of Leith, but the reformers had no engineers among them; their undisciplined troops were repulsed at the first assault, and two successful sallies made by the French completed their discouragement. They were obliged to abandon Edinburgh and retreat to Stirling. Knox succeeded in rekindling their ardour, and Maitland was sent to the English court to ask for more effectual aid than Elizabeth had yet granted. If Scotland was in peril, the peril threatened England also. It was known that the Marquis of Elbœuf was collecting a great force in the French harbours to invade Scotland, and his commission extended to the invasion of England also. The Scotch reformers did not hesitate to offer their country itself to Elizabeth, abandoning Mary Stuart as their sovereign. Knox entreated Cecil that England should no longer dissemble her favour toward them.

Elizabeth at last allowed Cecil's policy to prevail. Winter was sent to the Forth with a fleet to prevent the arrival of the troops from France, though with

Elizabeth's characteristic timidity he was ordered to pretend that he did it on his own responsibility. The Duke of Norfolk was sent with an army to Berwick. The elements favoured the fortunes of England; D'Elbœuf's great fleet was entirely shattered by a storm. Elizabeth entered into a formal treaty with the Scotch, in which "for the defence of the ancient liberties of the kingdom" she took Scotland under her protection, but with a proviso that nothing was intended to the prejudice of the lawful authority of Mary Stuart (1560). The English troops advanced to the siege of Leith, and after a gallant defence the French were compelled to negotiate. The Regent Mary, who had been the soul of French influence in Scotland, died in June. On July 7th the treaty of Edinburgh was signed between the representatives of France in Scotland and Elizabeth's commissioners. The French troops were obliged to evacuate Scotland, and the government was left in the hands of the reformers; no special settlement of religious differences was made, but the Parliament which followed formally abolished the papal and established the protestant worship.

The importance, not for Scotland only, but for England and Europe, of the events concluded by this treaty cannot be too highly rated. For the first time Europe saw a great popular revolution successfully accomplished — a sovereign deposed and a religion changed by the will of the people. While the dread of resisting authority was hampering the Reformation in France, Knox was boldly cutting the knot. The quickening of the political life of the people was shown in the Parliament of 1560, when, for the first time for seventy-seven years, representatives from all

the boroughs appeared. The high ideal of Knox and his comrades was, that a free and educated nation should henceforth govern its own destinies. Schools were to be set up in every parish, and universities in every large town, out of the wealth of the fallen church. The greed of the nobles hindered the full accomplishment of this noble scheme; but Scotland owes it to her ministers that she is still the land where the peasantry value culture more than wealth. If the Scotch Reformation had its weak side and its unworthy elements, still honour should be given where honour is due. And Englishmen may rejoice that, after the wrongs of three hundred years, it was the sister kingdom which came to the help of Scotland in her hour of need, and finished for her the task which she had begun, but which was too great for her unaided strength. With this solid help rendered, with the common aim of the two nations avowed and accepted, the real union of England and Scotland began.

The national party in Scotland—as the reforming party may well be called—had set their hearts on the marriage between Arran and Elizabeth, which would have united the crowns of England and Scotland. A petition was sent to Elizabeth from the Scotch Estates, imploring her to accept this marriage. But it would not have been easy to bring Elizabeth to so open a contempt of the rights of Mary Stuart, even if she had not personally disliked the half-witted Arran. She declined the match, to the great vexation of the Scotch. Just about this time (1560) the death of Francis II. caused a complete change in French politics. The Protestant leaders in France were saved from destruction, and it was impossible for the Guises

to take their intended revenge for the treaty of Edinburgh. Their power was completely overthrown, and was grasped by the queen-mother, Catharine de Medici, a poor little shrivelled soul who was willing to sell anything for the possession of power, but who saw that the only way to keep power for the present was to be at peace with both Protestants and Catholics.

Mary Stuart returns to Scotland, 1561. — Mary Stuart had been educated at the court of Catharine de Medici. She was naturally a woman of great intelligence and strong feelings. Under good training she might have become a noble character. In the licentious court of France, while her intellect received all the development and polish which the Renaissance could give, her moral nature was stunted and twisted. She grew up with little or no idea of moral obligation, or of the duties which sovereigns owe to their subjects; nor had she any nobler guides in her own life than ambition and passion. Her greatest virtue was her fidelity to her friends; but she was equally constant in her resentments. Of her beauty, her dauntless courage, her extraordinary personal charm, we need not speak; for have they not thrown dust into men's eyes ever since she lived?

Mary Stuart had been the star of the French court during the lifetime of her father-in-law Henry II. She had tasted for a brief time the delights of royalty as queen of Francis II. Though she keenly felt the banishment from the pleasant land of her youth, she probably preferred to be supreme in Scotland rather than to be eclipsed by her mother-in-law in France. Trained and advised by the Guises, she went to Scot-

land to restore her fatherland to Catholicism and the French alliance. She sent before her to Scotland the ambassador Noailles, to demand that the treaty of Edinburgh should be cancelled, the old league with France renewed, and the Romish priests restored to their benefices. But she little understood the revolution which had lately taken place in Scotland. The Estates answered "that they could not dissolve the league with England without a brand of the greatest ingratitude imaginable, in recompensing so great a courtesy with the highest injury, which it certainly would be to join against those who had been the deliverers of their country."

Mary Stuart saw at once that she must bend to circumstances before she could control them; and though the Catholic party in Scotland offered to seat her on the throne by a force of 20,000 men, she refused the offer, and preferred to temporize with the party of the reformers till the moment should come when she could overthrow them. But one concession she refused which ought to have opened their eyes to her real policy: she refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. She so far gained the mastery over her half-brother, Lord James Stuart, who was sent by the Protestants to invite her to Scotland, that he wrote to Elizabeth, asking that before Mary signed the treaty of Edinburgh she should be recognized as Elizabeth's successor. Elizabeth knew perfectly well that to appoint the Catholic princess as her successor would be to offer every inducement for her own assassination. She refused Mary a free passage through England, foreseeing the risk to her own throne which it would cause; and she wrote to remonstrate with the Scotch

Estates on their weakness in not insisting on the ratification of the treaty.

Mary Stuart came to Scotland, but not to reign. The Protestants were entirely masters of the situation. Her chief officers of state were all Protestants, and the real direction of affairs was in the hands of Lord James Stuart, whom she created Earl of Murray. She was obliged to publish a declaration that no change should be wrought in religion; but though she thus temporized, she gave up no jot of her ambition, and was secretly determined to seat herself one day upon the throne of England. Had she been as steadfast of purpose as she was crafty and captivating she might have succeeded. For a girl of nineteen, her knowledge of the world and influence over others was marvellous. Left almost alone in a country which was out of sympathy with her, she set herself to accomplish by craft that which was impossible to force. Everybody was charmed with her, and the Lords of Scotland sent an answer to Elizabeth's letter which was nothing short of a defiance. Knox alone saw through her, and judged that the lessons of the Guises were deeply printed in her heart. She entered into an amicable correspondence with Elizabeth about the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and Elizabeth, who seems to have been sincerely desirous to trust Mary, became willing to consider the question of appointing her as her successor. An interview at Nottingham was arranged for; and it was with difficulty that Elizabeth's council persuaded her to abandon the scheme, fearing the Catholic sympathies of the northern counties. Mary had to swallow her vexation, and to follow her brother on an expedition to the

Highlands, where he crushed the Earl of Huntly, the only powerful champion that Catholicism possessed in Scotland.

So wholly had Murray and the Secretary of Scotland (Maitland) forgotten the cause of Protestantism, that they were now seconding Mary's ambitious desire to marry Don Carlos, the heir of Philip II., a marriage which would have brought Elizabeth and Protestantism between the hammer and the anvil. These negotiations had not gone far before they were found out by Knox and reported to Cecil. Knox was now the sole defender in Scotland of the interests of the two realms and of Protestantism. From the feeble vantage-ground of the pulpit he boldly attacked the Spanish marriage and the vacillating policy of the Protestant leaders. "The voice of that one man," says the English ambassador Randolph, "is able in an hour to put more life into us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears." His uncompromising faithfulness brought about a quarrel between him and Murray, but the hold which he had on the nation was too strong for the attacks of the court.

Mary marries Darnley.—The Don Carlos marriage was never realized, owing to the irresolution of Philip, and the signs of brain disease which were already showing in the unhappy prince. Mary turned her thoughts to another marriage, which seemed to promise her the aid of the English Catholics in her ambitious designs on Elizabeth's throne. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox and Lady Margaret Douglas, was descended from the kings of Scotland by his father, and from Henry VII. of England by his mother, the daughter of Margaret

Tudor. The descendants of Margaret had been set aside in the settlement of the succession made by Henry VIII. ; but to those who regarded that settlement as unlawful, Henry Stuart was the rightful heir to the English crown after Mary, and had the advantage of sex. A marriage with him would greatly strengthen Mary's claims on England ; for Darnley was the favourite candidate of the English Catholics, who, as Elizabeth's ministers well knew, still formed about two-thirds of the population. To throw Elizabeth off her guard, Mary played with the offer which Elizabeth now made her of her own favourite, Robert Dudley, as a husband. She offered Mary that if she would marry him, she would nominate her as her successor. But she did not trust Mary sufficiently to allow the recognition as successor to precede the marriage ; while Mary, who had not the smallest idea of marrying Dudley, insisted that the recognition must come first. So entirely were the English queen and her ministers deceived by this negotiation that the Earl of Lennox and his son were allowed to return to Scotland. Thus before Elizabeth had time to protest against the marriage it was announced to her as a thing already determined (1565).

Fall of Murray.—Murray and the Protestant nobles, who saw that their rule was at an end if the Darnley marriage were concluded, opposed it with much show of Protestant zeal. Mary succeeded in gaining over Maitland to her side, but Murray, who had more to lose, could by no persuasions be won. Mary parted from him in anger, declaring that he meant to put the crown on his own head. Murray very soon took measures to justify her suspicions. He applied to

Randolph for assistance from Elizabeth, offering to seize Lennox and Darnley, and send them to Berwick. He made no request for troops, undertaking to do the work with his own followers, and those of the Protestant lords, if Elizabeth would furnish them with £3000. The attempt was foiled by Mary's swiftness, and Murray found himself in the position of a rebel. He again appealed for help to England, and met with an encouraging answer.

It is difficult to defend Elizabeth from the reproach of having encouraged Murray's rebellion with false promises. She sent a peremptory order to Lennox and Darnley to return to England, yet she only feebly protested when Mary accomplished the marriage. Murray could not induce the citizens of Edinburgh to support him; and Mary, with her usual promptitude and energy, took the field against the Lords of the Congregation, and drove them towards the Border. Elizabeth then sent the £3000 which had been asked, and made further vague promises of help; but she did not allow her troops at Berwick to advance one step. Mary marched to the Border with a large force, and Murray and his friends were obliged to flee into England. Elizabeth allowed them a refuge there, but treated Murray as a traitor to his sovereign, and arranged a scene in which she obliged him to confess before the French ambassador that he had acted without encouragement from her.

Nevertheless the difficulties and dangers of Elizabeth's position must be remembered. The English Catholics were united round Mary Stuart by the Darnley marriage, and an open interference in Scotland might produce, as her own Council feared, an

explosion in England. She distrusted Murray as much as the Edinburgh citizens had done; and it was not surprising, though it was not honourable, that she should be willing to let him do his worst in Scotland, to profit by him if successful, and to disown him if he failed. She was only treating him as he had treated her about the treaty of Edinburgh.

The expulsion of Murray made Mary for the first time queen in Scotland. She could not yet afford to break openly with the Protestant party; but in secret she was preparing for the restoration of the Catholic religion. She recalled to court the Earl of Bothwell, Murray's personal enemy, who had been outlawed for treason, and who was destined shortly to become the evil star of her own destiny. Gordon, son of the Earl of Huntly, whom Murray had crushed, was also recalled from banishment, and restored to his large estates. David Rizzio, an Italian musician, who had risen so high in her favour as to become her private secretary, and was suspected of being her lover, had now supreme influence in her counsels; and his influence was always for rigorous measures against Murray and the lords who had been outlawed with him. A Parliament was summoned for March which was to pass an Act of attainder against them, and to re-establish the Catholic religion in Scotland (1566).

The Murder of Rizzio, 1566.—But it was not long before Mary found out that Darnley was a vulgar, vicious young man, with a most disagreeable temper, and they quickly became estranged. The effect of this was to bring about a conspiracy between Darnley, who believed his honour to be betrayed, and the exiled nobles, the object of which was to remove

Rizzio from Mary's councils, to give the crown-matrimonial to Darnley, who was henceforth to have the supreme authority; to re-establish the Protestant religion, and to restore Murray and his friends to their estates and dignities. Randolph, Knox, Cecil, and Elizabeth were made privy to this plot. How Rizzio was to be punished was not specified; but it is probable that some form of justice was intended, and that the brutal murder which followed resulted chiefly from the heated passions of the actors in that bloody scene.

We need not relate the well-known story of Rizzio's murder. On the day after its accomplishment Murray and his friends returned to Edinburgh, and Darnley dissolved the Parliament which was about to attain them; but all the conspirators together were no match for Mary. Throbbing with hatred and revenge for the murder of her favourite, she controlled herself to act the part of a woman who submits to the inevitable. In two days, by her arts and blandishments, she detached Darnley from the other conspirators; by his means she escaped from Edinburgh. She summoned the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Athol to her side, and in less than a week she returned to Edinburgh more powerful than ever. Making it her supreme object to punish those immediately concerned in Rizzio's murder, she reconciled herself to Murray; but Ruthven, Morton, and all who had taken part in the fatal deed, as well as Knox and Maitland, had to take flight across the Border.

Mary falls in love with Bothwell.—Mary reconciled herself to her brother only because she was not strong enough to strike him. Nor did she attempt to strike

at Protestantism. Her personal vengeance and her political schemes were deferred till opportunity should be ripe. By the birth of her son, in June, 1566, afterwards James VI., her position became infinitely stronger, and her chances greater of displacing Elizabeth. Could she have kept the peace with her husband, she had a fair prospect of heading a revolution which should overthrow Elizabeth and the Protestant party. The English Catholics, with many of whom she was in correspondence, would have received her with enthusiasm; the Pope and the king of Spain would have backed her. But at the very moment when the prize of her ambition was almost within her grasp, another object became dearer to her than ambition, dearer even than revenge. She had fallen desperately in love with the Earl of Bothwell. It was this which caused the slackening of her hand after the birth of her son. She pardoned Maitland, and appeared cordial with all her nobility. She seemed willing to enter into the bond proposed by Elizabeth, by which she was tacitly recognised as her successor, under her pledge to do nothing against Elizabeth during her lifetime. One thought was really engrossing her mind, how to get rid of her husband, not now from revenge, but because he was the obstacle to her marriage with Bothwell. She became despondent and unhappy, and was often heard to say that she wished she were dead. Maitland saw his opportunity, and offered to find means to divorce her from her husband if she would pardon Morton and Ruthven. She consented, and Argyle, Bothwell, Huntly, and Maitland entered into a compact to "put forth" Darnley "by one way or other." There seems to be great probability that Murray

knew of the plot, but quietly allowed the queen to ruin herself.

Murder of Darnley, February 9th, 1567.—The deed was done; Darnley was lured by Mary herself to a lonely house near Edinburgh, murdered there in the night by Bothwell or his agents, and the house blown up. But with that house of Kirk-o'-field the fortune of Mary Stuart was blown into the air.

CHAPTER X.

TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

The Fall of Mary Stuart, 1567. — It was soon apparent that no proper inquiry would be made into Darnley's murder, and that the queen would marry Bothwell, the man whom everybody pointed at as the murderer. Murray, seeing that she was bent on destroying herself, withdrew into France until the pear should be ripe, and should drop into his hand.

All Mary's past ambitions were now thrown to the winds. Her first communication with Elizabeth after the murder was coupled with an offer to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. In the Parliament which met in April the laws made against heretics were for the first time formally abolished. So utterly did Mary abandon the championship of Catholicism that she married Bothwell with Protestant rites, and adopted the religion which was nominally her husband's (May, 1567). But Nemesis was at her heels. The nobles of Scotland, many of them implicated in the murder of Darnley, had been cowed or bribed into consenting to the concealment of the queen's and Bothwell's guilt. They had even, to their eternal disgrace, been induced at a drunken feast to sign a bond, pledging

themselves to promote the marriage. But the elevation of Bothwell to supreme power united them against him, and before a month had passed after the marriage Catholics and Protestants formed a coalition against him and the queen. Mary's forces melted away around her when she met the insurgents at Carberry Hill; she was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh, and Bothwell had to flee the country, never to return (1567). Mary was shut up in Lochleven Castle, and obliged to sign an abdication in favour of her infant son, who was immediately crowned at Stirling as James VI. Murray was recalled from France to undertake the regency of the kingdom during the minority of the king.

The Protestant party in England naturally regarded the revolution which had taken place in Scotland with great satisfaction; but not so Elizabeth. Had she beheld in vision the scaffold of Charles I., she could not have seen more distinctly the results which would follow from the admission of the doctrine that rulers are responsible to their subjects. Against this doctrine she fought in the teeth of her own interests and the advice of her ministers. She protested against Mary's despotism, and refused to acknowledge Murray's regency. It was owing to the efforts of her ambassador that Mary's life was saved, so strong was public feeling against her in Scotland. But Elizabeth was warned that further interference would only heighten the peril in which her cousin stood. She therefore secretly encouraged the Hamiltons to resist Murray.

Mary driven from Scotland, 1568.—The Hamiltons were playing a treacherous and selfish game, the object of which was to get Mary into their possession, marry her to the heir of their house, and thus rise to supreme

power themselves. In May, 1568, Mary suddenly escaped from Loehleven. The Hamiltons, Argyle, Huntly, nearly all the most powerful of the Scotch nobility, gathered round her, and in a few days she was surrounded by an army of 6000 men. Murray was taken by surprise, but at this juncture he displayed the firmness and ability which were the best features of his character. The lords who were the kernel of the old Protestant party stood by him, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow declared for him, and at the battle of Langside he utterly shattered the queen's army; and Mary herself fled from the field, hopeless and hapless. Relying on promises of help which Elizabeth had too freely given, and knowing that she had no longer any chance of life in Scotland, Mary threw herself into Elizabeth's power by taking refuge over the Border.

A new period now opens in Elizabeth's history. Her most dangerous enemy was given into her hands, but new perils were to arise out of her detention. These indeed were clearly foreseen by Elizabeth and her ministers, yet they decided that it was the least of many evils to keep her. The insurrections and plots would probably have come even if Mary had not been a prisoner; for Elizabeth's wise holding of the balance between Catholics and Protestants had only delayed, not averted, a struggle of the Catholics to regain supremacy. And the fact that she had Mary in her own hands rendered all insurrections and plots unavailing.

First English Conspiracy in favour of Mary, 1569.—It is impossible in this brief history to describe all the vacillations of Elizabeth's policy. She moved forward

only in the most tortuous curves, and every step was involved in hesitation and contradiction. Her first measure was to bring Mary to a sort of trial. She claimed the position of a superior in doing this; and though the Scotch denied this superiority as resolutely as ever, yet both Mary and Murray had invited her interference, the one by demanding permission to justify herself in Elizabeth's presence, the other by offering to demonstrate her guilt. The trial was begun at York, and concluded at Hampton Court. Mary was not allowed to appear; her advocates met the production of the celebrated casket-letters* only by denying the right of subjects to accuse their sovereign, and declaring the conference at an end. Elizabeth having given to her own Catholic nobles the clear proofs of Mary's guilt, was content to hush up the matter. But already a plot was brewing to put Mary at the head of the English Catholics, and marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, the first nobleman in England, who, though openly a Protestant, was a Catholic at heart. Through the weakness of Norfolk's action, he was arrested before he had time to raise a revolt; but his detention did not prevent a rising in the North of England, under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the professed object of which was to restore Catholicism, remove evil councillors from the queen, and confirm Mary's title to the succession. The Duke of Alva was expected to assist with troops from the Netherlands. But the insurrection failed precisely because it was impossible to set free Mary, who was

* A name given to some letters of Mary's to Bothwell, found in a silver casket. Their genuineness is still controverted by some.

removed to a safer prison on the first news of danger. The earls hesitated instead of pressing forward, the Duke of Alva would not stir till he heard of some decisive success; the troops of Elizabeth gathered, the rebel army melted away, and the earls took flight over the Border. The greatest peril that Elizabeth had yet known passed harmlessly by, but the terror that it had caused was seen in the cruelty with which it was avenged.

Murder of Murray, 1570.—The Earl of Northumberland having fallen into the hands of the Regent Murray, his extradition was demanded by Elizabeth, and the Regent in return demanded the extradition of his sister Mary. But while this negotiation was still pending, Murray was murdered by one of the Hamiltons, to the great joy of his sister and her partizans. This murder caused three years of anarchy in Scotland. The party of Mary raised its head again, and was joined by Maitland. The Duke of Châtelherault (who had been imprisoned by Murray) was set at liberty, and the Hamiltons took possession of Edinburgh. The greater part of the nobles were on Mary's side, but the commons were determined never to have her to reign over them again. Elizabeth dared not openly support the young king, lest she should provoke the interference of Charles IX., who had just defeated the Huguenots at Moncontour. But she found a pretext for intervention in punishing the Borderers who had been committing raids into England, with the help of the English refugees from the late rebellion, and the Hamiltons, who were sheltering the traitor Earl of Westmoreland. Sussex and Scrope ravaged the lands of the Border lords, and

Sir William Drury destroyed the palaces of the Hamiltons at Hamilton and Linlithgow, and laid waste their territories. Drury brought with him to Scotland the Earl of Lennox, who was made Regent. Drury might easily have crushed the party of Mary entirely, but Elizabeth would not permit him to do more for fear of exciting French interference. Moreover she mistrusted Morton, who was now the chief of the Protestant leaders, and "thought the whole cause full of doubt."

The danger of her own position was greatly increased by the publication in London of the bull of Pius V., excommunicating her, and forbidding her subjects to recognize her as queen (1570). Elizabeth believed (though she was mistaken) that the excommunication was issued with the approval of France and Spain. A general combination of the Great Powers against her seemed inevitable, and in this extremity the restoration of Mary, on terms which should ensure Elizabeth's safety and that of the Protestant party in Scotland, seemed to her the measure most recommended by prudence. To the intense vexation of the Protestant party, therefore, negotiations for this end were begun. A tripartite treaty between England, France, and Scotland was proposed; and in spite of her aversion to marriage, Elizabeth appeared to be intending to secure herself on the side of France by marrying Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. This matrimonial negotiation protected her for a long time from French attacks, though so tortuous was the policy of all governments at that time, that the French court did not cease all the time to send money to the cause of Mary Stuart in Scotland.

The popular voice in Scotland, however, made itself heard against the restoration of Mary. The General Assembly of the Kirk passed a resolution that she should never more be queen; and when Morton was sent for to London to conclude the treaty with Mary, he refused to have anything to do with it. (1571.) This closed the question for the time, and before it could be resumed affairs had taken a new turn.

The Ridolfi Plot, 1571.—When Mary heard that the treaty for her release had not been concluded, and that a marriage negotiation was in progress between Elizabeth and her first husband's brother, she gave up all hopes from Elizabeth or France, and turned herself wholly to Spain. She began to weave the threads of the plot known in history as the Ridolfi Plot, from the name of the agent who carried on the negotiations between herself, the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and Philip. Philip had up to this time been the reluctant protector of Elizabeth through jealousy of France. The expected alliance between Elizabeth and France, the pressure of the Pope, and the assurances given by Mary's friends of the ease with which Alva might effect an invasion of England, swung him round to the side of the Catholic queen, and the murder of Elizabeth was gravely discussed at the Escorial. But neither of the two conspiring parties could trust the other; the Spaniards refused to act till the English had struck, and the English Catholics would not move without help from Spain. In September, Cecil, who had long been on the scent, discovered the secret. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the English nobility, was executed for his share in the plot. Another dangerous crisis was

safely passed, and with it the hopes of the Catholic reaction, which perished when the first nobleman in England laid his head on the block.

As the ascendancy which Coligny and his friends were now exercising at the French court seemed to promise Elizabeth security against a French invasion of Scotland on Mary's behalf, she was now able to drop the Anjou marriage, while still keeping the French alliance. The war between the partizans of Mary and those of her son went on more fiercely than ever in Scotland. The Regent Lennox met with a violent death, and his successor, Mar, was suspected to have been carried off by poison; but though the united English clergy and both Houses of Parliament petitioned Elizabeth to execute justice upon Mary for the sake of her own safety; she would not consent. All she did was to allow the publication in England of Buchanan's *Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots*, in which Mary's crimes were fully exposed. It was another step towards making her restoration impossible.

Elizabeth completes the Suppression of Mary's Party.—After the treaty of Blois, between France and England, had been signed (1572) Elizabeth was free to interfere in Scotland. By her envoy, Sir William Drury, she succeeded in negotiating a truce between the two parties, with the stipulation that the Estates should assemble shortly to conclude a general peace. Before this could happen news of the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve in France roused the utmost indignation in all Protestant lands (1572). It had the greatest possible effect in Scotland in strengthening the Protestant party, and awakening

a desire for a closer league with England. It led eventually to the step which Elizabeth had so long delayed—her recognition of James as king. This step was at last brought about by the firmness of Elizabeth's envoy, Sir Henry Killigrew, and of the Earl of Morton, who had succeeded Mar in the regency. Elizabeth supplied Morton with money, and undertook the support of his government. The effect was immediate. At the Pacification of Perth (1573) the Hamiltons, Argyle, and Huntly acknowledged James, and submitted to the regency of Morton. The only place in Scotland that still held out for Mary was Edinburgh Castle, where by a strange turn of events Maitland, who had once been the ally of Knox, and Kirkaldy of Grange, who had been one of the murderers of Beaton, refused to submit to Morton, expecting help from the Guises, who now had recovered the upper hand in France. But the troops sent by the Guises were wrecked off Scarborough. Elizabeth sent Drury with a force to assist Morton. Edinburgh Castle was attacked with all the military resources of the age, and compelled to surrender. Maitland died soon after he was captured, and Kirkaldy was hung. Mary's faction in Scotland was at an end.

The third Catholic Conspiracy, 1583.—We can only briefly note the steps which led to the final league between Elizabeth and James. As James grew older he fell under the influence of the Guises, and Mary's party began to cherish new schemes. The government of Morton was overthrown, and Morton himself brought to the scaffold. The Jesuits had now become the real heads of the Catholic world. Their

secret missions in England began in 1580; and they had concerted a vast scheme for the overthrow of Elizabeth, which was to be carried out by a Papal invasion of Ireland, the re-establishment of the influence of the Guises in Scotland, and the invasion of England by the Duke of Guise. The two first items of the programme were carried out; but the firmness of the Protestant ministers re-established Elizabeth's party in Scotland. By an exploit known as the Raid of Ruthven, James was forcibly taken out of the hands of the agents of the Guises, and they had to leave the country.

The third part of the scheme had fair hopes of success. Mary had consented to associate her son with herself on the throne. The leading Catholic noblemen in England had promised a force estimated at about 20,000 men. Parma, Philip's general in the Netherlands, was to send 4000 men to Guise. The Pope's bull was ready, and soundings had been taken of the harbour of Rye. Philip was to furnish a fleet for the transport of the French and Spanish forces. James escaped from the Protestant party, and wrote a letter to Guise welcoming his invasion; but the habitual slowness of Spain prevented the despatch of a fleet during the summer of 1583. The fair season passed away, and in November Mary's agent, Throgmorton, confessed on the rack the whole scheme. England was put on her guard, and once more the plots of the Catholic world were shattered.

Elizabeth makes a League with James, 1586.—Elizabeth disliked James far more than his mother, and clung almost to the last to the hope of restoring Mary by an amicable treaty. Mary, who was getting

desperate with hope long delayed, was ready with almost any concessions, but she expected that her son would work for her restoration, and that he would at least consent that she should be associated with him on the throne. When therefore Elizabeth sent her a letter of James's, in which he denied having ever consented to any such association, and in which he made it quite plain that he was ready to sell her interests to secure his own, she cursed her son, and declared her intention of disinheriting him. Elizabeth meanwhile was being driven by the course of events towards alliance with James. The assassination of the Prince of Orange in 1584, and the alarm which it caused for her own life; the outbreak in France of the war of the League, in which the Duke of Guise combined with the king of Spain for the overthrow of religious toleration in France, warned Elizabeth to make close alliance with the only powers which could give her help. After many sad vacillations the great step was taken at last. She entered into a treaty with the revolted states of the Netherlands (1585); and the same year she allowed the Protestant leaders, whom James had banished, to return to Scotland. Once more Protestantism and the English alliance were masters of the field, and the unworthy favourite who had become master of James was driven out of the country. The next year, the League, so long discussed between Elizabeth and James, was signed at Berwick. Elizabeth granted James £4000 a year, and without openly recognising him as her successor, tacitly did so by engaging that nothing should be done to diminish any greatness that might be due to him, unless provoked by manifest ingratitude on his part.

The Babington Conspiracy.—When Mary heard of the conclusion of this league, she carried out her threat of disinheriting James, and bequeathed all her rights in Scotland and England to Philip II. He was now her only hope; but as Spain had always been slow to move as long as the ground was unprepared in England, she threw herself with ardour into a plot for the assassination of Elizabeth, a measure which had always been recommended by Spain as a necessary preliminary of any successful scheme of invasion, and which was now cordially supported by the Spanish ambassador Mendoza. This was the famous Babington conspiracy, contrived between John Ballard, a priest, and Anthony Babington, a young Catholic gentleman of good fortune. Besides the Spanish ambassador, six of Elizabeth's personal servants were concerned in it, and had undertaken to kill her. Her murder was to be followed by that of Cecil and Walsingham; and it was expected that an immediate revolution would ensue, in the midst of which the Prince of Parma could land an army from the Netherlands, take possession of England for his master, and liberate Mary.

Execution of Mary Stuart, 1587.—Little was Mary aware that, even before she had been made privy to this plot, the ingenious Walsingham, who by surrounding Elizabeth with his spies had preserved her life from the hands of the Jesuits for many years, had contrived a scheme whereby the whole of her correspondence from Chartley Manor, where she was now confined, should pass under his own eye. The unhappy queen, unhappy in her character even more than in her destiny, walked blindfold into the snare which brought her to the block. When sufficient proof had

accumulated against her, she was brought to trial, condemned, and executed at Fotheringay Castle.

It was part of the irony of fate that Elizabeth, who so deeply desired to uphold the majesty of monarchical government, should thus be made the instrument of the execution of justice on a monarchical culprit; that she, who cared so little for Protestantism that she would gladly have found some tolerable way of reconciliation with Rome, should have struck down the champion of Romanism in her own island. Vainly did she strive to throw the responsibility of the deed on her secretary Davison; yet the miserable farce which kept him a prisoner in the Tower for the rest of his life, availed as a sop to the resentment of James of Scotland, who was only too glad of a pretext for enjoying his pension in peace, without being troubled to avenge his mother.

The Spanish Armada.—But the execution of Mary Queen of Scots was a move which caused an entire change on the political chessboard. It cleared the way for Philip's invasion of England on his own account, as the Catholic champion, the avenger of Mary's wrongs, no longer hampered with her interests or her son's. The mortal duel between Catholicism and Protestantism, so dreaded by Elizabeth, so long staved off from England by her policy, drew nigh her shores. The great Armada sailed at length for England, and was beaten back, a shattered wreck, partly by English valour, partly by those winds and storms which had so often fought for Elizabeth (1588).

Scotland and England were united in sympathy when the terror of the great Armada was threatening England and Protestantism. The triumph of England

settled the relations of England and Scotland in a peaceful course for the rest of Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth had many perils to surmount, but they no longer found a leverage in Scotland. If James was sometimes tempted to begin intrigues with the Catholic powers in order to forestall his future greatness, wiser counsels led him to see that his best chance lay in patience. In 1600 Elizabeth increased his allowance to £6000 a year. Sir Robert Cecil, who had succeeded to his father's influence with the queen, was one of those who were chiefly instrumental in keeping James quiet during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, and thus preparing the way for his peaceful accession to the English throne. To the last Elizabeth kept to her resolution not to name a successor; but she had already tacitly acknowledged James's claim, and on her deathbed she named him openly. There were other candidates to the English throne. The extreme Catholics desired the daughter of Philip II., who was descended from a daughter of Edward III.; while by Henry VIII.'s will the descendants of his sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, had been declared the true heirs. But the execution of Queen Mary had removed most of the objections to the accession of the house of Stuart, and it was without any opposition that James entered England as king in April, 1603.

CHAPTER XI.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND WORKING TOGETHER.

WE have now reached a date at which we can see that the result of all the suffering caused by the separation of England and Scotland was to create in Scotland a reserve of English force, which should be the salvation of England in the supreme crisis of her liberties. The spark that kindled the great Puritan revolution came from Scotland.

James's Project of Union fails.—It was with no very friendly feelings that the English and Scotch nations became united under the government of James Stuart. They were unconscious of their deep kinship in blood, which showed itself in kindred thoughts, kindred ability, and a kindred love of freedom. It was James's wish to bring about a complete union in laws and government between the two nations. But he wished, as was said at the time, to marry them without allowing time for courtship. The vulgar prejudices of both countries were too strong for such a union, and all the liberal eloquence of Bacon was unable to persuade the English Parliament of 1607 to do more than abolish the hostile laws, such as those which made passports necessary between the two countries. James himself

hindered the union by an attempt to enforce the right of a Scotch subject to hold land in England by the mere exercise of his prerogative without any action of Parliament. This made the English Parliament more adverse to a right settlement than it had been before, and the far more important questions of freedom of commerce between the two countries, and parliamentary union, had to be indefinitely postponed. But the real union of the two nations was brought about by their common resistance to the tyranny of the Stuarts.

The Causes of the English Revolution.—To understand the conflict in which England and Scotland became involved with the the house of Stuart, we must grasp the fact which lay in the nature of things, that whenever the Papal power was cut off in any country a struggle was certain to take place between king and people for the division of that power. And further, it lay in the very nature of that conflict that it should end in a struggle for the division of political power.

In England the king had taken the initiative in the Reformation. The Pope's shoes, which Henry VIII. stepped into, were the most important part of the spoil of the Church. The law-abiding English nation, conscious of the greatness and danger of the crisis through which it was passing, allowed both Henry and Elizabeth to wear those shoes without any quarrel. But all through Elizabeth's reign the voice of Parliament was heard from time to time, claiming to interfere with what she regarded as the most precious jewel of her crown—her supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Position of the Church in Scotland.—In Scotland, on the other hand, the Reformation had been the

work of the people. They had vested the ancient powers of the Church, not in the king, but in popular assemblies. The Church which they had set up was thus doubly their own, and they loved it and clung to it with all the intensity of the Scotch character. The Scotch Parliament did not, like the English, represent the national will; it was the mere tool of the king. The General Assemblies of the Church were the sole defenders of the rights and interests of the people. The struggle which James entered into with the ministers was really a struggle of the same nature as that between William Rufus and Anselm. Anselm and the Scotch ministers were defending the cause of the people against a king who wished to be supreme over the Church. The absence of a truly representative Parliament in Scotland, the great powers possessed by the nobles, and the disorder consequent on their lawlessness, rendered the independence and the democratic government of the Church most necessary and most dear to the Scotch people.

James restores Episcopacy in Scotland, 1600.—But a king who regarded his authority as something divine could not favour a democratic church, and James steadily aimed at the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland, because it seemed the best way of securing the orderly government of the Church, and its subjection to the State, the Bishops being always appointed by the Crown. He would gladly have used the support of the Papists as a balance against the dictation of the Protestants; but he was thwarted by the ministers, one of whom told him that he was “God’s silly vassal,” and that his scheme was devilish and pernicious. He succeeded, however, in 1600, in appointing three

bishops in addition to those who were still left from a previous attempt to create bishops in 1572.

When he became king of England, he found that to become the acknowledged head of the Church of England was a very pleasant change from being God's silly vassal in Scotland. It strengthened his resolution to establish the episcopal system in the Scotch Church. His royal authority was more than doubled by the added force of the more centralized government of England, and thus he was able to enter into a struggle with the Scotch Church, in which he was completely successful. One by one she was robbed of all the guarantees of her independence. The Bishops were restored to the government of the Church, and the entire control of the clergy and the local synods was placed in their hands. The stouter spirits among the ministers were imprisoned or banished.

This victory was won just before James began the seventy years' struggle between the English people and their king by dissolving in anger the Parliament of 1611, after giving an unsatisfactory answer to its petition of grievances. From henceforth he was in strained relations with both his kingdoms. The soreness in Scotland was greatly increased by his attempt to enforce on the Church the Five Articles relating to matters of ritual, of which the first, ordering that the Lord's Supper should be received kneeling, was peculiarly obnoxious in Scotland, as it was regarded as equivalent to a confession of Roman doctrine.

Charles provokes the Revolt of Scotland, 1637.—Such was the state of things at the accession of Charles I. (1625). Charles was a well-meaning man of logical but narrow intellect, extremely dull sympa-

thies, and even less tact than his father. He had a cultured taste in art, and his love of the fair and fit led him to value highly the decorous and dignified worship of the Anglican Church. He would not have been true to himself if he had not tried to put the top stone on his father's work by imposing the English Prayer-book on the Church of Scotland. A visit to Scotland increased his dislike to what he considered the indecorum of the Scotch services, and he wrote to the Scotch Bishops, "as the representative body of that Church," requiring them to introduce a uniform ritual, and canons for the uniformity of Church discipline. The Prayer-book, however, was prepared by Laud, and sent to the Bishops to be adopted without discussion. It was simply the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., with the omission of such clauses as were thought to savour of Zwinglian doctrine; that is, it was less decidedly Protestant than the English Prayer-book.

Charles endeavoured to impose this Prayer-book on a nation which was already in a state of extreme tension. The Scotch nobles, who were far more powerful than the English nobles, hated the Bishops, because they saw that the King preferred them as the more subservient instruments of his government, and that their own power and influence would soon pass very largely into the Bishops' hands. There was a general suspicion that the measures already introduced by Charles and his father were only a prelude to the re-establishment of Popery. The authority assumed by Archbishop Laud over the Scotch Church was regarded as the usurpation of a foreign Church. And not only was the Scotch Prayer-book less Protestant than the English, its origin was English. All the strongest

passions of the Scotch character—the pride of national independence, the love for the Church which was the nation's own work—were roused against the Prayer-book of Charles I.

It is this which gives dignity and nobility to the great national revolt which now began in Scotland. We must not regard it as a petty squabble about Church ceremonies, in which one set of blind prejudices was pitted against another. It was the uprising of a great people, determined to be themselves, and not what anybody else would make them, however cultured and enlightened. It was a new rebellion of the *Communitas* of Scotland against a far less wise king than Edward I., who sought to mould Scotland for her good against her will. But the great difference between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century was, that now the deepest heart of England beat in sympathy with Scotland.

The rebellion against the Prayer-book began with the humble. The story of Jeanie Geddes and her stool has been banished from history; but it is certain that a number of maidservants began the tumult at St. Giles' Church, in Edinburgh, when the dean attempted to read the Prayer-book. The resistance spread everywhere, and before the end of November it had become organized under a body of representative commissioners. In the General Supplication which was presented to Charles, the Bishops were boldly accused of having caused the troubles of the Church by breaking the law. It was demanded that they should no longer sit on the Council.

The Covenant, 1638.—Charles answered the Supplication by a mere assertion of his own authority and

princely care for religion. Then the Scotch nation banded itself together in the famous covenant for the defence of the reformed religion, in which the consideration of all novelties already introduced into the worship or government of the Church was reserved for the Assembly and Parliament; and a free Parliament and free General Assembly were demanded. The Covenant was signed with enthusiasm by the nobility, clergy, and people of Scotland. The few who objected were overpowered by the force of public opinion, or even by threats. It was not long before the assertion was heard that the right to hold assemblies came direct from God, and that no earthly prince might venture to interrupt them. In November a General Assembly met at Glasgow, and swept away the Prayer-book, the Canons of Discipline, the Five Articles, and Episcopacy itself.

Charles had no alternative but war, if he could make no concession. But he had no army and no money. He was already deeply involved in the struggle for supremacy in Church and State in England which his father had begun. He had dissolved the Parliament of 1629, and imprisoned its leaders. He shrank from summoning another because he knew that he had lost the sympathies of England as well as Scotland. The Scotch very soon had an army of their own, and appointed as general Alexander Leslie, a soldier thoroughly trained in the Thirty Years' War. The chief fortresses of Scotland were in their hands by the end of March, 1639.

The Treaty of Berwick, 1639.—Pressed by his financial difficulties, Charles could only raise a small army, which he led to Berwick in the summer. His

troops were ill-disciplined and inexperienced, his nobles listless, and he was hemmed in on every side by difficulties in raising money to pay his soldiers. The hopelessness of maintaining the field under these circumstances became apparent, and the king at last bent his ear to negotiation. He signed the Treaty of Berwick with the Scotch, in which he surrendered to the Assembly the control of the Church, and to Parliament the supremacy in civil matters. But it was impossible for Charles to surrender a thing freely and fully as Elizabeth would have done. He still intended to retain his veto on all measures passed by Assembly or Parliament, and hoped by that means to be as much a sovereign as before. His mind too was so strangely constituted that he thought it no wrong to violate the spirit of an engagement if he kept the letter. The treaty of Berwick had not been signed a month before he summoned the Scotch Bishops to sit in the Assembly which was to be held in Edinburgh; and when his Scotch advisers, such as Hamilton, told him that what he proposed was impossible, he instigated the Bishops to a secret protest against the legality of all acts passed by an Assembly at which they were not present.

The Assembly which met at Edinburgh in August confirmed the abolition of Episcopacy, while Parliament discussed the constitution of the Lords of the Articles—the important body which had hitherto possessed the sole right of proposing and discussing bills—and resolved that the choice of them should in future lie exclusively with Parliament. Charles could not bring himself to agree to this. He ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, and was answered that

the king had no right to prorogue Parliament without its consent. Thus already the question of political freedom had entered the ranks in Scotland by the side of that of ecclesiastical independence.

The Short Parliament Summoned.—It was about this time that Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, came to England, and became the chief of Charles's advisers. If a resolute will, boundless energy, fertility of resource, and unswerving loyalty could have saved Charles from the abyss towards which he was hastening, Wentworth would have saved him. But as he knew little better than his master how to discern the hearts of Englishmen, or the drift of his times, he only helped Charles into the gulf. The policy which he advocated towards Scotland was that the disaffection should be rigorously repressed, and the country governed directly from England. The mere suspicion of this latter idea was enough to rouse all the national spirit in Scotland. As vigorous suppression could not be carried out without means, Wentworth proposed, and led the king to consent, that an English Parliament should be summoned, to make experiment of the loyalty of the English people.

When this Short Parliament met, (1640,) Charles hoped to rouse the resentment of the English nation against the Scotch by reading a letter which had been written (but never sent) by the Covenanting leaders to the king of France, asking his mediation; but the House of Commons was too full of other thoughts to be stirred by worn-out national jealousies. Under the leadership of Pym, it addressed itself at once to the chief grievances of the Stuart government. These were, in brief, the predominance of the royal will in

State and Church. They were the demand of the English nation, which had come to manhood, to have a voice in its own government, and in the moulding of its own Church. These grievances the House of Commons was determined to discuss before granting supplies for maintaining the king's cause in Scotland. The leaders of the Opposition had already entered into communication with the Scotch Covenanters, and knew perfectly well that "the cause of the Scotch was in reality their own." Seeing the temper of the Parliament, Charles hastily dissolved it, but not before it had made England aware that her aims and those of Scotland were radically the same.

The Scotch were not long in deciding on their course. The very backwardness of their political development caused much less divinity to hedge a king in Scotland than in England. Though their Parliament was but a poor representation of the nation, and though the lawlessness of the nobles was the greatest evil of their political life, yet that very lawlessness had preserved to the Estates a power of independent action which the English Parliament was slow to claim. Those who led the Covenanting movement laid it down that a king who invaded his country with arms might lawfully be deposed. In spite of Charles's orders of prorogation, the Scotch Parliament met and passed the great constitutional changes discussed in the previous October, of which it was said rejoicingly that they "fettered monarchy with chains, and set new limits and marks to the same, beyond which it was not legally to proceed." They lost no time in getting ready again for war, and their first move was to strengthen their position by

coercing the Keltic north of Scotland. The Western Highlanders, under the influence of their chieftain, Argyle, a wily politician who had thrown himself on the side of the Covenanters, were ready to follow wherever he should lead them; but the Marquis of Huntly was a sort of little king in the north-east of Scotland, and his Highland territory stretched to the borders of the realm of the Campbells. Argyle was not unwilling to make the hand of the Campbells felt on the rival power, and he harried the domains of Huntly so mercilessly that there was no further fear of opposition to the Covenant in the North.

The Scotch enter England.—On the 20th of August, 1640, the Scotch army crossed the Tweed. On the 28th they scattered a small English force at Newburn, a ford of the Tyne four miles above Newcastle. On that very day some peers and commoners of the dissolved Parliament were meeting in London, and twelve peers signed a petition to the king for a new Parliament, in which his evil counsellors were to be brought to trial, and negotiations for peace begun with the Scotch. In like manner the Scotch, after occupying Durham, sent in a supplication to Charles that their grievances might be redressed with the advice of an English Parliament. The promoters of the English petition, following an example already set in Scotland, took pains to publish it for circulation among the common people. There was open rejoicing in London when the news came of the victory of the Scotch at Newburn. A petition for a Parliament, signed by 10,000 London citizens, was presented to the king, and on the same day he heard that Edinburgh Castle had surrendered to the Covenanters.

For long Charles vacillated between hope and fear; but at last the emptiness of his treasury drove him to consent to the cry for a Parliament. A temporary peace was made with the Scotch, on the understanding that its terms were to be discussed and concluded by the Parliament which was now summoned, and which is famous in history as the Long Parliament.

It is not the business of this book to tell the history of the Revolution, but simply to point out the interworking of England and Scotland in the struggle. We must bear in mind that it was in reality a struggle for ecclesiastical power. The constitutional difficulties—those which concerned the liberty of the subject and the right of the king to raise taxes without consent of Parliament—would probably have been settled without civil war, had not the Puritan party been resolved to reform the Church after their own ideal. Unhappily neither of the great parties perceived that the true solution of the question lay in toleration, and the intolerance of both sides made a civil war inevitable.

The Long Parliament, 1641.—The presence of the Scotch army in England decided not only the meeting of the Long Parliament, but the impeachment and execution of Strafford, which could not have been so easily accomplished without this armed force in the background. The English Parliament soon took the negotiation with the Scotch army into its own hands. Charles hoped that the demands of the Scotch would irritate English pride. The scheme broached by the Scotch for unity of religion in the two countries was very offensive to many English, and others disliked equally the proposal for unity of trade. But in the discussion of these delicate matters the majority in the

House of Commons was guided by the highest political tact, and succeeded in avoiding even a breach of international courtesy.

Charles now paid a visit to Scotland, in hopes of raising a party there strong enough to win back his supremacy. But he was too late, for the Earl of Argyle, the cleverest politician in Scotland, had seized on the reins of government, and had thrown into prison the Earl of Montrose, an ardent spirit who was just about to pass over from the Covenanting party to the king's. Charles gained nothing by his visit to Scotland but the complete mistrust of the popular party. A mysterious affair took place, known in history as the Incident, by which Charles was involved in the suspicion of having entered into a conspiracy to seize Argyle and Hamilton. The suspicion was probably false, but Charles had exposed himself to it by his reckless intrigues. All these intrigues were watched by John Hampden, who was one of the commissioners sent by Parliament to Edinburgh to see to the execution of the Scotch treaty. The only result of the Incident was to establish Argyle more firmly in power, and Charles returned to England with his hopes from Scotland completely defeated.

The Irish Rebellion, 1641.—Just before the king's return to England the Irish rebellion broke out, and the cruel massacres of English and Scotch settlers which were reported sent a thrill of horror through England. The Puritan party suspected Charles of being himself in league with the Irish rebellion, and intending to use the Irish against his Parliament. When Charles appealed to Scotland for help in suppressing the rebellion, the Scotch Council under Argyle recommended him to give

up the idea of going to Ireland, and come to terms with his Parliament in England. A similar refusal was given in June, 1642, but this time it was given by the Scotch Council at the dictation of a great popular deputation, "which summoned the Council to keep peace with the English Parliament."

Peace, however, was now impossible. The English Parliament had demanded the control of the militia; that is, the power of the sword, without which it had no guarantee for the concessions it had already wrung from the king, and Charles refused to surrender that power. War between Parliament and king began in August, 1642.

The League with Scotland.—The Parliamentary General, the Earl of Essex, had little military ability, and the first year of warfare brought no decisive success to the popular side. A firm alliance with the Scotch offered the best resource for opposing the prestige of the king, but to obtain this alliance it was necessary that the Parliament should accept Presbyterianism and the Scotch Covenant. There was no great difficulty about this, as the majority of the Puritan party in England inclined towards the Presbyterian form of Church government. The idea of a free Church, or of liberty of worship, was unthought of by either of the two chief ecclesiastical parties; it was thus inevitable that if the State Church ceased to be Episcopalian, she should try the experiment of Presbyterianism. The Solemn League and Covenant was, therefore, signed by the English Parliament, and enforced wherever the authority of Parliament extended. It was a change from one intolerant ecclesiastical system to another; but there was in the English Parliament a

small minority, the party of the Independents, whose watchword was religious liberty, and with them was the future. Not from Scotland was the solution of the great religious difficulty to come, though Scotland contributed to it by the help given in the hour of danger.

The Scotch give up Charles to Parliament.—This league with Scotland was the last work of the great statesman Pym, who had hitherto been the real leader of the English revolution. In January, 1644, a Scotch army crossed the Tweed. In July the decisive battle of Marston Moor was fought, the first great success of the Parliamentary party. The arms of the Scotch contributed little to the victory, which was won by the doughtiness of Cromwell and his Ironsides; but none the less the alliance between the English and Scotch nations was the final blow to the Royalist cause. Charles sought to divert fate by sending an Irish force to Scotland to find work for the Scotch troops in their own realm. Montrose (now thoroughly Royalist) joined this army with a body of Highlanders, and met with such success, that by August, 1645, the whole North of Scotland was in his power. The hopes of the king, whose cause in England had just been ruined by the defeat of Naseby, rested entirely on the army of Montrose. A part of the Scotch host did return to Scotland, but only to cut in pieces the army of Montrose at Philiphaugh; while Charles's last military effort was wrecked under his own eyes at Rowton Moor. Trusting to the discord which was already arising between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, Charles threw himself into the hands of the Scotch army before Newark. But the Scotch were

still true to their alliance with Parliament. In conjunction with the two Houses, they offered him terms which would have restored him to the throne as a Presbyterian king, but which would have involved the extinction of religious liberty. Charles refused these terms, hoping that the strife between the two parties of his enemies would soon make him master of the situation. The Scotch, therefore, gave Charles up to the Parliament; and having finished their work, and received a settlement for the arrears due to them, returned across the Border.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM DISUNION TO THE UNION.

The Scotch take Charles's part.—Up to this point the English and Scotch nations had worked together, and by their united action the complete defeat of the king had been accomplished. What separated them was the accession to power of the Independent party—the party which saw that “new Presbyter was but old Priest writ large,” and whose claim was for freedom of worship for all Christian sects. Scotland was not advanced enough to sympathize with this claim. It was impossible that in a country so poor and isolated, where the Crown itself could only keep its authority by constant bloody struggles, there should be the same play of thought, the same richness of intellectual development, as the long peace of Elizabeth's reign had promoted in England. Scotland had abundance of spirit for striking blows; she had earned an undying crown by the great blow she had already struck for the rights of the people; but she had yet to learn the lesson of religious toleration. Her one idea of duty was to make Presbyterianism dominant. Cromwell and the Independents had a larger ideal before them. The Independents were the core of the Army, and in 1647 the Army took possession of power,

and seized the person of the king. Toleration of worship for all Protestant sects, and the freedom of even Catholics from enforced conformity, were part of the noble programme of reform which the Army offered the king. But the defeat of the Presbyterian party put an end to the fellow-working of England and Scotland, and the intrigues of Charles completed the breach, while they ruined himself as well. Throwing up his negotiations with the Army, he signed a treaty with the Scotch, consenting to re-establish Presbyterianism in England. An army of 20,000 Scotch invaded England on his behalf.

Cromwell Conquers Scotland, 1650.—The Scotch paid dearly for failing the cause of religious liberty. Their army was shattered into fragments by Cromwell in Lancashire; and Lambert, pressing on into Scotland, was joined by the Covenanters of Ayrshire in overthrowing the king's party in Scotland, and placing Argyle again at the head of affairs. But the trial and execution of Charles I. (1649), which followed the triumph of the Army, again alienated the Scotch; Argyle proclaimed Charles II. king. Cromwell had to undertake the conquest of Scotland. At Dunbar he shattered the forces of the Scotch general Leslie, who had commanded the Scotch army when it marched to the help of England in 1644. The battle of Worcester completed the destruction of the Scotch Royalists, who had invaded England under Prince Charles. The subjugation of the Highlands was accomplished by the Parliamentary general Monk, and Cromwell's first Parliament passed a bill which united the legislature of the two realms. The rest of Cromwell's reign was a time of great peace and prosperity for Scotland.

The strong hand of the Protector kept down the license of the nobles and the lawlessness of the Highland clans. There was no religious persecution to embitter the hearts of the Scotch; and if on the one hand the General Assembly of the Kirk, which had been the great organ of their national life, was suppressed, on the other hand they were represented in the Parliament of England. And with the Union they received the great boon of freedom of trade with England.

The Union Abrogated by Charles II.—The history of the two succeeding reigns, during which there was no important national interaction between England and Scotland, may be briefly dismissed. After the Restoration, Scotland was a crushed and beaten victim. England had made what was virtually a treaty with Charles II., which secured a great part of the work of the Revolution. Scotland had no treaty, and consequently lost all the privileges which she had gained by the Revolution. The Union which Cromwell had accomplished was swept away, and the prosperity of the country was ruined by the loss of freedom of trade. Episcopacy was restored, and the Covenant solemnly burned by the hangman. Resistance was trampled out with odious cruelty. Charles was determined to crush Presbyterianism so effectually that it should never again appear in the field as the ally of English liberty.

Under James II. Scotland not only saw her liberties trodden under the heel of a despotic king, but was threatened with that which was most abhorrent to the national mind, the restoration of Popery. The nation gladly accepted the deliverance brought by William of

Orange, who treated Scotland with tact and respect, and was careful not to force himself on the nation, but to allow the Convention Parliament to elect freely. The Presbyterian form of government was now restored to the Scotch Church, though it was at the same time deprived of the power of persecution. A measure for uniting the two legislatures was contemplated by William from the first, but trade selfishness made it unpopular in England. But this very selfishness, by the injury which it inflicted on Scotland, roused a spirit in the weaker country which made the union of the two realms an imperative political necessity. The great commercial calamity of the Darien Company was one of the chief agents in bringing about the Union.

This company (whose proper name was the Indian and African Company) was started with great enthusiasm in Scotland, in the hope that it would give Scotland a share in that rich commerce from which her jealous neighbour had excluded her (1695). From the beginning it was frowned on by the English government, and the occupation as a colony of a site in the midst of Spanish settlements came most inopportunistically for William at a time when the alliance of Spain was essential to him in curbing the ambition of France. Consequently the colony received no support from England, and was ruined by the combined effects of the climate and the hostilities of the Spaniards. The sufferings of the survivors roused the sympathy and indignation of their countrymen, who believed that England had betrayed them from commercial jealousy. The excitement ran so high that Scotland seemed likely to break away from England, and the danger was heightened by the death of the Duke of

Gloucester, the heir-apparent to the throne. William saw that the only way to put an end to the discord between the two nations was their legislative union; but all attempts to bring it about during his reign were thwarted by English jealousy, and the first commission appointed when Anne came to the throne did nothing, because the English commissioners would not grant the essential point of free trade with Scotland.

Scotland refuses the Succession Act.—The new Scotch Parliament, which met in 1703, met in a high spirit of national independence. It enacted that Scotland should not be dragged into wars with foreign powers without the consent of the Scotch Parliament; and while Marlborough was beginning his great career against France, it showed its hostility by opening a free trade in arms with France. But the question of the Succession to the throne offered the best field for the assertion of national independence. Scotland had not been consulted about the Act of Succession by which the English Parliament had settled the crown upon the Electress Sophia and her children, and she determined not to follow suit. After a violent debate, in which England was hotly denounced, an Act was passed providing for an independent determination of the crown in Scotland; and the country began to arm.

It became necessary for the English Parliament to take notice of this Act, but through the sagacity of Godolphin a direct condemnation of it was avoided, and the queen was recommended to put the country into a state of defence. An Act was then passed to bring about a union between the kingdoms. Penal restrictions were placed on commerce with Scotland until Scotland should have accepted the Succession. The Scotch

were greatly offended at the English Act, but their Parliament had sense enough to join in the appointment of commissioners for the Union. They sent an address to the queen, insisting on the removal of the obnoxious clauses of the English Act. This the English Parliament, under the guidance of Somers, had the grace to do at once.

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.—The commissioners of both kingdoms met at Whitehall in April, 1706. The most important of all the articles—those concerning parliamentary union, the succession, equal citizenship, and free trade—were passed almost without discussion. The English offered to pay an equivalent, to avoid the sacrifice which the equalization of taxation would entail on the poorer country. A compensation was also paid to the shareholders of the Darien Company, thus healing a great national sore. Scotland was allowed to keep her local and judicial institutions. The treaty when concluded was presented to the Scotch Parliament; it was a piece of statesman-like tact to submit it first to the weaker nation to discuss. The Jacobites, who were enemies to the Union because they were enemies to the government, exerted themselves to arouse the national jealousy, and excited a bitter popular opposition to the treaty. But the victory of Marlborough at Ramillies, the discomfiture of the French on whom the Jacobites leaned for support, did more for the Union than all the arguments of its supporters. The disruptors were beaten, and their plots confounded. An attempt to unite the disaffected Cameronians of the West with the Jacobite Highlanders, under the leadership of the Duke of Hamilton, failed utterly. Even a solemn protest which was to

have been presented by the Duke of Hamilton fell to the ground. The treaty passed the Scotch Parliament, and was carried through the English Parliament under the ministry of Godolphin. By his tact and statecraft it was passed in its entirety, as it had been shaped by the Parliament of Scotland—a graceful concession which did much to soften bitterness. It received the royal assent on March 6th, 1707; and in May, 1707, the great design of Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell was carried out, and a Parliament of the United Kingdom met at Westminster.

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